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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

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## Baltin Briefs on Fleet's Poti Operations

*PM2411113193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 93 First Edition p 2*

[Nikolay Semena report: "Not All Warships Have Returned from Poti"]

[Text] Simferopol—Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral E. Baltin held a press conference in Sevastopol devoted to the result of the fleet's operation to protect Georgia's lines of communication.

He reported that 11 Black Sea Fleet warships had returned to Sevastopol after performing the task of protecting lines of communication in the city of Poti. Reinforced marine subunits and a permanent headquarters remain in Georgia to maintain operational arrangements in the city and carry out patrol duties. According to the Black Sea Fleet Press Center's report, one medium amphibious warfare ship and 102 marines are now in Poti. Another two ships—the Krasnyy Kavkaz and the minesweeper Snayper—arrived in the region 22 November. Admiral Baltin said that the Black Sea Fleet will perform its task until a decision to discontinue it is taken at interstate level.

Baltin stated that no losses were suffered during the operation. However, military sources insist that a tank battalion captain from the Black Sea Fleet brigade of marines was killed at a guard post on the bank of the Rioni River during a shootout on the night of 9-10 November. A warrant officer and an ordinary seaman were wounded. However, according to the Press Center version, the officer committed suicide after losing his authorized weapon.

### No Losses Among Peacekeepers

*LD2511000593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Radio Slavyanka reports that at a briefing in Sevastopol, concerning the presence of the Black Sea Fleet ships within Georgian waters of the Black Sea, Admiral Eduard Baltin, the commander in chief of the fleet, denied reports on losses among the staff of the peacekeeping forces. He said that only one soldier had been slightly wounded when carrying out peace-keeping activities during the past 10 days. At present, there is a commandant's office of the fleet in Poti and only two ships remain on duty off-shore.

Radio Slavyanka also reports that for the time being the peacekeeping activities of the Black Sea Fleet are limited to guarding Transcaucasian transport routes. This has been indicated by Admiral Eduard Baltin. The operation is carried out in accordance with an agreement between the leaders of four states—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Russia, and with a consent of Ukraine. As for the withdrawal of the Ukrainian border guards from Georgia, Baltin said, that of 86 men having given the oath to Ukraine, only 24 expressed a wish to leave.

## Black Sea Fleet, Militia Share Control of Routes

*AU2411182293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Nov 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "On the Presence of Black Sea Ships in Poti"]

[Text] As reported by the Press Center of the Black Sea Fleet, at present, one medium amphibious warfare ship "SDK-54" with 102 crew members on board is staying near Poti. In the town proper, a temporary commandant's office is functioning. Jointly with the Georgian militia, it controls incoming and outgoing routes. On 22 November, another two ships—"Krasnyy Kavkaz" [Red Caucasus] and a mine-sweeping sniper—left Poti.

The Press Center of the Black Sea Fleet has refuted our newspaper's information on the killing of a Black Sea Fleet officer in Poti, having explained that he committed suicide after losing his authorized weapons.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Nov

*LD2511075493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0531 GMT 25 Nov 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 25 (ITAR-TASS)—Russian newspapers continue to discuss in detail the draft of a new Russian constitution. The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper claims in an analytical article today that now when it became clear that the elections to a Federal Assembly (new parliament) will be held virtually everywhere on December 12, "authorities are now focussing on publicising the draft new constitution while the opposition (real and imaginary) concentrates on drumming up support against it".

The press has already extensively described constitutional intricacies of relations in the triangle—president-government-parliament,—the role of the constitutional court, the procedure of making amendments to the constitution and of impeachement, the newspaper continues.

However, the newspaper believes, the chapter on human rights and freedoms is no less interesting. "But the chapter's interest lies in which rights and freedoms may be restricted during a state of emergency rather than in the enumeration of these rights and freedoms," the newspaper continues.

The newspaper claims that some of them, including inviolability of an individual and the right of an individual to freedom may be restricted "theoretically".

Professor Nikolay Abrosimov, chief analyst of the analytical centre for social and economic policy at the president's office, examines this issue in a different way. Writing in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper, the scholar outlines his ideas on preserving and strengthening Russian statehood.

"The new constitution lays down the principle of preserving the state's integrity and precluding any attempts to grab power by making amendments to the constitution," he claims.

"Appropriate sections of the draft are underpinned by the fact that they are in full conformity with the general trend of the militry doctrine, the main provisions of which were recently approved by the National Security Council."

Besides, there is no need now for stressing the important role of power-wielding structures in ensuring the stability of the Russian state.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA front-pages a commentary on the foreign policy conducted by the Russian Foreign Ministry in the recent past. In the newspaper's opinion, the latest statements by Minister Andrey Kozyrev differ much from all the previous pronouncements.

This concerns, above all, Kozyrev's attitude to a decision by the Ukrainian parliament on the START-1 treaty, seeking to win the status of a nuclear state for ukraine through a legislative act. This "may jeopardise the present system of world relations", the newspaper stresses.

"The minister lashed out even more sharply at Armenia's actions which overstep the limits of civilised relations between states," the newspaper continues. "The car of the Russian president's special representative, ambassador at large Vladimir Kazimirov, was fired on when crossing the Armenian-Azeri border".

At the same time, the newspaper explains the tougher foreign policy course taken by the Russian minister by the premise that "the government wants to portray itself as a guardian of Russian interests" during the election campaign to a new parliament.

Besides, "Moscow, at long last, understood its place and role in post-Soviet space," the newspaper adds.

"It has become clear now: When statehood is taking root in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, when their policies are subordinated to domestic developments and the struggle for power, it is highly improbable to wait for a balanced and civilised policy from these states.

"Their actions can sometimes represent... A serious threat both to Russia and the entire world."

Despite economic difficulties, it is necessary to preserve the basis and might of Russian fleets, claims the Pacific Fleet commander, Admiral Georgiy Gurinov, in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

He noted that the Pacific Fleet's tasks are of strictly defensive nature. "The active phase of the fleet's operations in the distant zone has been virtually stopped, apart from participation in multinational forces in the Persian Gulf and joint exercises," the admiral said. "Despite economic difficulties, the Pacific Fleet's combat forces have been preserved."

The TRUD newspaper prints information from the Central Electoral Commission on registration of candidates to the Federal Assembly in one- and two-seat constituencies. The commission registered 490 candidates for a Federation Council (upper chamber) and 1,567 for a State Duma (lower chamber).

### Press Review for 26 Nov

*LD2611073893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0612 GMT 26 Nov 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 26 ITAR-TASS—Central newspapers publish articles on various subjects today. Only two newspapers, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, carry materials about the electoral campaign to the State Duma.

"A meeting between President Yeltsin and representatives of all parties and electoral blocs will be held in the Kremlin today. The president intended to discuss with them some problems dealing with the Central electoral Commission, the mass media and the way the electoral campaign is developing. He wants to remind representatives of the electoral blocs that they have been given an opportunity to use TV for setting forth their programmes and not for 'running down the president and the constitution'. Yeltsin explained that he had in mind TV addresses of some leaders of parties and blocs on November 24. The name of one of them became known: It is Stanislav Govorukhin," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. "The struggle, even if it is taking place during the electoral campaign, is the struggle just the same. Unfortunately, forbidden methods are used in this situation too. It is those methods that brought about a statement of press secretary of the President Vyacheslav Kostikov, made on Thursday. He stressed that electoral speeches of some candidates contain rough attacks on the president, the government and their opponents. Their statements abound in falsehood, social demagogy and just bad language," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

"The impression is that not only electoral blocs and parties, but whole regions are trying to use methods of electoral blackmail. Thus, in the opinion of the Central Electoral Commission, the situation is rather complicated in the constituencies, located in many coal-mining regions. Some local leaders there urge to boycott the elections. The reason is simple: Wages have not been paid in time," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA frontpages an article about the relationship between Russia and former USSR republics. "The change of tone between leaders of the CIS member states during the past several days shows that friendly relations between the fraternal states have entered a new stage. Now the epithets, previously used only in private conversations, are being made public.

Relations between the fraternal states are getting so close, that their leaders are no longer trying to conceal differences, which are inevitable in such situations, or friendly insults, for that matter," the newspaper writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Colonel General Yevgeniy Maslin, head of the main department of the Russian Defence Ministry, which deals with Russia's nuclear arsenal. "New approaches and a new attitude to the disarmament problem are coming to the limelight in society... At the same time, I should like to warn against populist decisions. Nuclear weapons will continue to be a means of deterrence, of the prevention of aggressions, for a long time to come," General Maslin stressed.

The newspaper frontpages an article about the efficiency and order in the army. "Discussions about the correlation between democracy and discipline in the army have become a thing of the past. It became absolutely clear that without discipline, efficiency and order an army cannot be built. It cannot be built either without comprehending the changes that have taken place in the mentality of servicemen and the new world outlook that has emerged in society. All this should be taken into consideration by the military command bodies in their work, aimed at strengthening army discipline," the newspaper stresses.

TRUD carries a large article by Vladimir Gomon, the mayor of the city of Nadym in the north of Russia. The article deals with the acute problems facing the northern region. "The situation here is critical. Northerners, who have almost lost hope of receiving their wages for many months, are threatening the government with disrupting the elections and cutting off gas pipelines," Gomon writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes a report of its correspondent from Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, entitled "Ambassadors Hunt Under Way." The report says: "The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary to Georgia left for Moscow, but did not turn up there. Before leaving Yerevan for Tbilisi he held talks with local officials and learned that the Georgian Ministry of Security cannot guarantee his personal safety on the territory of Georgia. The ambassador decided to go to Tbilisi via Moscow, but has not turned up so far. Several days ago the ambassador of the Vatican was robbed. Prior to that incident a U.S. consul to Armenia was robbed on the territory of Georgia. Still earlier Vladimir Golub, a military attache at Russia's embassy, was beaten up and robbed there."

## Intelligence Service Report on NATO Expansion

### 'Open Polemic' With Foreign Ministry

*PM2411165193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 93 First Edition p 1*

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Expansion of NATO Does Not Meet Russia's Interest at the Moment. Furthermore, It Is Dangerous. That Is the Opinion of the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service"]

[Text] Real partnership between Russia and NATO is possible, not now but in the distant future—if and when the North Atlantic Alliance is transformed into a "universal peacemaking and stabilizing force."

That is one of the conclusions drawn in the analytical report "Prospects of NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests," prepared by experts from the Foreign Intelligence Service. This report, according to informed sources, will be presented by Academic Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service.

Judging by reports from our sources, through its report Russian intelligence is entering into an open polemic with the Russian Foreign Ministry, which by and large has a favorable attitude both to the idea of NATO expanding to include countries which were previously part of the Warsaw Pact, and to the idea of setting up a partnership between Russia and the alliance in the near future. What is particularly noteworthy is that the conclusions of the report are supported by Russia's military establishment, so I was told.

This support is understandable if you bear in mind that, according to reports received, the Foreign Intelligence Service considers that one of the inevitable results of the expansion of NATO and consequently the spread of the largest military grouping in the world to "lines in direct proximity to the Russian borders," will be the need for a "radical reinterpretation by Moscow of all defensive concepts, the reformation of the Armed Forces, the development of an additional infrastructure," and so on. And, the Foreign Intelligence Service experts believe, such a need "will entail overstetching of the state budget, the weakening of Russia's defense capability, and the probability of the disruption of reduction programs and the reorganization and professionalization of the Armed Forces." In the event of the inability of the Russian Government to ensure the normal financing and social protection of the Armed Forces, the authors of the report conclude, "dissatisfaction may arise in Army circles."

The present report is the second of its kind published by foreign intelligence. A year ago the Foreign Intelligence Service familiarized the world with its assessments of the situation concerning the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which was in some respects sensational. I think that a stir will also be caused this time.

IZVESTIYA is planning to carry a detailed exposition of the intelligence report once it has been officially circulated.

### Expansion 'Not Beneficial' to Russia

*MK2511085093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1*

[Andrey Streletskiy report in the "Special Services" column: "The Russian Intelligence Service Presents Yet Another Report. It Bears on Russia's Relations with NATO"]

[Text] As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported in its issue No. 225 (649) of 24 November 1993, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) has prepared a memorandum "The Prospects of NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests" which is to be available in the public domain. Today it will be officially presented at the Russian Federation Foreign Affairs Ministry press center. The journalists will be addressed by, among others, FIS director Yevgeniy Primakov.

As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned from an informed source in the FIS, the report argues that NATO's geopolitical expansion at the expense of the defunct Warsaw Pact is certainly not beneficial to Russia. FIS concern over this, according to the source, is not confined to primitive arguments and fears that NATO is expanding its spheres of influence in order to undertake aggressive actions against Russia. Nonetheless, the Russian intelligence service belies that NATO expansion hardly responds to Russia's national interests. The FIS report provides an extended substantiation of this thesis.

Meanwhile, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has obtained information from other sources suggesting that some time ago a highly placed Foreign Affairs Ministry official, touching upon the question of Russia's interrelations with NATO, made the following point: Although in principle Russia has nothing against NATO, it would hardly agree to a situation where the North Atlantic Alliance would be defending, for instance, Ukraine against an external threat. Historically this role rather belongs to Russia.

Prepared by FIS analysts, "The Prospects of NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests" is the second one from the "open" series. The precedent was set at the end of January 1993 when the Russian special service made public the memorandum "A New Challenge After the 'Cold War:' Proliferation of Mass Destruction Weapons."

### Primakov Presents Report

*LD2511124193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1050 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS and CRIME-PRESS correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich, Sergey Oleynik, and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov—Russia's interests require that the planned expansion of the NATO bloc be synchronized with change in the nature of that bloc. It should be changed from a strategic "Cold War" alliance into collective security machinery appropriate for the present post-confrontation era. This view was expressed by Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service, when presenting the Foreign Intelligence Service report "Prospects for Expanding NATO and Russia's Interests."

"We are a long way from making a direct statement that NATO expanding into the East is the same as extending the bridgehead for making a strike at Russia," Yevgeniy Primakov said. "However, we are not indifferent to the fact that the world's biggest military grouping plans to reach right up to our border."

If this happens, the intelligence service chief stressed, this would entail retaliatory military measures on the part of Russia. There would need to be a radical rethinking of all defense concepts, a change in operational plans, and reworking and redeployment of the armed forces. This would place a heavy burden on Russia's economy and temporarily have an effect on its security.

"Should the Russian Government need to provide the conditions for this kind of essential retaliatory action, this could arouse dissatisfaction on the part of those who are entrusted with ensuring Russia's security interests are met," the foreign intelligence chief warned.

Speaking about the geopolitical aspects of the issue, Yevgeniy Primakov said: "What is being put before us it entirely unambiguous. Once there was confrontation between two blocs. One of these has ceased to exist and the other is extending its influence into the area of the former Warsaw Treaty organization. This is believed to be a reliable guarantee of security. We do not believe that."

The conclusions of the Foreign Intelligence Service analysts are well grounded: Russia has every reason to weight up the course of events affecting its interests against possible changes in the geopolitical and military situation. "Renewed Russia has a right to count upon its view being taken into account," the head of Russian intelligence said in conclusion.

## Doubts Expressed Over NATO Role

*LD2511165893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1318 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] The presentation of a report of the Foreign Intelligence Service on the prospects for NATO expansion and Russia's interests took place today at the press center of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation. Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Foreign Intelligence Service, acquainted those present—home and foreign correspondents—with it.

[Begin Primakov recording] The expansion of NATO's area of responsibility in one form or another will be discussed at the summit meeting in Brussels next January. The Foreign Intelligence Service has grounds for believing that one may expect it to be a fundamental expansion. Of course, this process will not happen overnight. What does Russian intelligence see as the essence of the problem? I would like to recall that during the Cold War relative stability in Europe was based on the equilibrium between the two blocs, the two military-political alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Now that the Warsaw Treaty has ceased to function, NATO remains the only military-political bloc. Now, in effect, the following is being proposed: NATO is being called upon to become the sole guarantor of peace and stability through expanding the area of its responsibility to countries which earlier were Warsaw Treaty members. Here lies the essence of the problem for Russia.

I would like to emphasize that there may be other points of view in other states who look at the problem from their own angle, and these other states are also guided by their own national interests in approaching a solution to this question. Russia, too, has its own view of the problem of NATO expansion. This view proceeds from Russian interests—I would say a conviction that everyone should not only understand that the fact that these Russian interests exist is natural, but also that Russia is ready to uphold them. What conclusions are being made known in this respect? Let us begin with the fact that Russia is far from being indifferent to a bloc that is extending the area of its responsibility to our borders.

We, including the Foreign Intelligence Service, see that NATO today is no longer the NATO of the time of the Cold War. But, on the other hand, the process of transforming NATO from a military-political alliance oriented toward countering external threats into a mainly political instrument which is appropriate for the new tasks of the post-confrontation period—this process is moving slowly.

The discussions on questions of NATO political strategy which we, of course, hold in our field of view, are at present of an appraising and preparatory nature. The persistent stereotypical thinking in terms of blocs is still a reality. By virtue of its primordial nature the alliance is geared toward strategic planning of the worst kind, which cannot fail to reflect on the nature and the details of operational documents, on military construction, and on the combat training of NATO's national and coalition armed forces. A change in psychology, which is necessary if NATO is to be transformed, will clearly take a long time. Incidentally, it is meeting with a certain resistance on the part of the bloc's military leadership. The question arises: Will its transformation into a political body equal to the tasks of the post-confrontation period contribute to the actual expansion of the alliance? Analysts of the Foreign Intelligence Service give a negative response to this. [end recording]

## Differences With Kozyrev Admitted

*LD2511172493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1550 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The plans to expand NATO by admitting Central and Eastern European countries to it do not solve the problem of ensuring security for Russia, said the director of Russia's Intelligence Service, Yevgeniy Primakov.

Presenting his service's report on the prospects for the expansion of NATO and Russia's interests at a news conference in Moscow on Thursday, he said that a major decision on expanding NATO may be taken as early as in January.

According to Primakov, the emergence of a big group with a powerful offensive potential on Russia's frontiers will make it necessary to revise the development of Russia's armed forces, but retaliatory measures taken in a brief period of time "would deal a blow to Russia's budget and security."

Primakov qualified as "speculative" the allegations that the influence exerted by the military on the taking of political decisions in Russia increased of late. Nevertheless he noted that the Russian government's inability to take retaliatory steps in connection with NATO's expansion "may generate discontent" among those who are responsible for ensuring security for Russia.

The process of turning NATO into a postconfrontational instrument is slow, and many fears would disappear if the processes of expanding the bloc and altering its nature were synchronic," Primakov said.

With reference to partnership between Russia and NATO, the director of Russia's Intelligence Service noted that such a solution does not resolve the problem of admitting countries adjoining Russia to NATO. According to him, the idea of partnership "will be afloat for a long time yet," since it is "amorphous enough" for the time being.

Russia is far from believing that to expand NATO is tantamount to expanding a springboard for launching a strike on Russia, Primakov stressed. There is no intention of pressing our will on other countries, he declared. Nevertheless Russia has its own interests, and it has the right to protect them, Primakov pointed out.

According to his service's analytical bureau, to expand NATO will not be conducive to speeding up its transformation. The efforts to "change NATO in psychological terms" will take a lot of time yet, he said.

The chief of Russia's Intelligence Service does not believe that conditions will emerge in the near future that would prompt Russia to create a new politico-military bloc. Nevertheless he said that no state can be deprived of its right to collective security.

When asked about the possibility of disagreements with the Foreign Ministry on the issue of NATO's expansion, Primakov said he is absolutely confident that in strategic terms Russia's foreign ministry works to protect Russian interests. He conceded however that "some differences between departments always exist."

## NATO Report Summarized

*PM2511211593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 4*

["Key extracts" from a report by Academician Ye. Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, under the "IZVESTIYA Documents" rubric: "Prospects for NATO Expansion and Russian Interests. Foreign Intelligence Service Report"]

[Text] Today IZVESTIYA publishes key extracts from a report which has just been promulgated by Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, and which touches on what is perhaps the most acute problem of Russia's relations with the countries of distant foreign parts.

The report, which runs to 13 pages, is unclassified. It is open to anyone, indeed it is comes entirely free of charge. The report has two sections. We will pass over the first. It analyzes the approach of various NATO countries to the problem of widening North Atlantic Alliance membership. But the second (which we are publishing in a slightly abridged form) assesses this problem from the viewpoint of Russian interests: economic, political, and military.

### 2.1 The North Atlantic Alliance's Prospects

According to Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] experts, an analysis of the impact of the process of NATO's expansion on Russia's interests requires first of all forecasts connected with the alliance's potential evolution after the end of the cold war.

Many of Russia's fears associated with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe joining NATO would disappear or would be eased if there were guarantees either of the priority development of the process of changing the alliance's functions or of the parallel expansion of NATO's political functions and its geopolitical scale. But these guarantees are absent.

First and foremost, the question of the prospects for the transformation of NATO is not clear enough. There is no clear understanding in the alliance at the moment of its role and place in the system of international relations in the postconfrontational period.

The stereotypical bloc mentality also persists, particularly in the case of a number of representatives of the military leadership of the Western countries and of the alliance as a whole. One of these stereotypes is that the USSR, the nucleus of which was Russia, was regarded for many years as the main source of the military threat to the very existence of Western civilization. Obviously it will take a long time to eradicate these "residual" phenomena. And the withdrawal symptoms are bound to be painful.

Nor should one discount the inertia of the arms race, which requires that the image of the enemy, albeit a potential enemy, be ever present in the mind of the public.

The desire of the central and East European countries, by joining NATO, to get the West to actively contribute to the solution of their domestic political and external problems could have an unexpected effect. If drawn into complex processes in East European states, involving a fierce struggle, the North Atlantic Alliance could face the objective need to harden its line. The transformation of NATO into a universal peacemaking and stabilizing force could be a protracted process. At any rate, there is a danger that this process and the expansion of the alliance's membership will not be synchronized. This would endanger the Russian Federation's interests, since this nonsynchronization could reduce the chances of the split in the continent's finally being mended and could lead to a recrudescence of the bloc policy, moreover in conditions where NATO's zone of responsibility now reaches the Russian Federation's borders.

### 2.2 Geopolitical Aspects

Experts have reached the conclusion that the exploratory proposals to Russia concerning partnership with NATO contain no discernible intention of creating a mechanism to maintain international security that is appropriate, in its composition and functions, to the conditions of the postconfrontational period. The idea of such a mechanism is under discussion in the West. Specialists in the United States, for example, are examining the possibility of the creation at the present stage of a collective security organization that will be something intermediate between NATO, on the one hand, and CSCE and the United Nations, on the other.

Naturally it is of fundamental importance to Russia what kind of alliance it is joining and what its functions are and what kind of partnership it is establishing with it.

### 2.3 Military Aspects

It is hard to imagine and it would be wrong to assume that the geographical expansion of NATO will serve to establish a bridgehead for a strike against Russia or its allies. But this is not the same as saying that NATO's eastward movement does not affect Russia's military security interests.

All kinds of interpretations of the Russian army's position on the aforementioned questions have been going around in the West of late. In particular, the myth has arisen that the generals want to exploit their "heightened influence" on the Russian Government and "impose" a hard line on it in the sphere of safeguarding national security. These opinions are speculative. The Russian military leadership clearly must make the following points.

1. The fact that as a result of NATO's expansion its biggest military grouping, the biggest in the world, possessing massive offensive potential, comes into direct proximity with the Russian borders demands a fundamentral reappraisal of all the defensive concepts, the reorganization of the armed forces, a review of the operational allocation of theaters of hostilities, the development of an additional infrastructure, the redeployment of major troop contingents, and the alteration of operational plans and of the nature of combat training.

2. The implementation of the above measures, rapidly, moreover, will put a strain on the state budget and will weaken Russia's defense capability during the restructuring and the movement of forward-based groupings of armed forces.

3. It is clear that in these conditions there will be a danger that existing programs of cuts, of the reorganization and professionalization of the Armed Forces, programs for equipping them with expensive modern, high-technology weapon systems might be delayed or disrupted. If we fall behind in this sphere there will be a qualitative reduction in the combat potential of the Russian Armed Forces compared with the level of the leading military powers.

4. If the Russian Government is unable to ensure the normal functioning, manning, material-technical provision, and social protection of the Armed Forces there could be disaffection in the Army, which is obviously not in the interests of either the political or the military leadership of Russia or of the country as a whole.

Nor can one overlook the fact that the expansion of NATO would result in its zone of responsibility covering the part of the European continent where interstate borders were altered as a result of World War II. Moreover this process is envisaged in conditions where as a result of the formation of new states in Europe, the Helsinki accords establishing the status quo are ceasing to operate or are being significantly weakened. Consequently, one might say that in the new conditions NATO will be an alternative guarantor of postwar European borders. Along with the positive aspects, this has a negative side as well. There is reason to suppose that when studying the question of the expansion of NATO certain circles in Germany are viewing this process in terms of the future development of the situation around the postwar borders.

The NATO leadership stresses that it has no intention of establishing a "cordon sanitaire" in central and Eastern Europe separating Russia from Western Europe. But this could happen irrespective of the NATO leaders' subjective intentions.

It must be borne in mind also that a change in the NATO membership is bound to undermine a number of the alliance's international commitments under multilateral treaties and agreements, in particular the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, the preservation of which will contribute to stability and sedurity on the continent. In the event of NATO's expansion by the addition of countries of the former Warsaw Pact, the principle of balance of power is upset. So the quotas of the conventional armaments not only of the potential new members of NATO, but also of the CIS countries, above all Russia, in particular on the flanks, would be called into question.

It should be said that all the adjustments to the treaty, which Russia has been seeking over the past 18 months-2 years at bilateral and multilateral talks, have encountered tough resistance and a negative reaction on NATO's part. For instance, Russian President B.N. Yeltsin's message (September 1993) to the NATO countries' leaders, which contained proposals on reviewing "flank" restrictions on Russia's Armed Forces (article V), was virtually rejected by the alliance leadership. There is a great deal of evidence that this will remain the bloc's stance until the end of 1995—the date of completion of the cuts in conventional armaments under the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

### 2.4 Domestic Political Aspects

One cannot overlook the possibility of NATO's expansion's having an adverse effect on the domstic political situation in Russia and on Russians' psychological state. Public antipathy toward NATO has been fostered over a long period in the Russian Federation. This cannot be changed overnight. In view of this, the extention of NATO's zone of responsibility to former union states of the USSR will be seen at the present stage by a large section of the public in terms of "bringing the danger close to the frontiers of the homeland." This could give a fillip to anti-Western forces in the Russian Federation, provide them with arguments for purposeful attempts to discredit the government's course. In these conditions you might see a revival in the country of a "siege mentality" and of isolationist trends with all the negative consequences that would have for the implementation of the course of reforms.

Foreign Intelligence Service experts have arrived at the following conclusions:

—in the conditions of the postconfrontational period and of the absence of the so-called bloc discipline that existed up until the abolition of the Warsaw Pact, Russia has no right to tell the sovereign states of central and Eastern Europe whether they should join NATO or any other international associations;

—it would be in Russia's interests to synchronize the process of expanding NATO's zone of responsibility with a change in the nature of the alliance, the adaptation of its functions to the character of the present stage of historical development;

—the process of the Central and East European states' joining NATO, its character and timeframe, and the new members' obligations and rights must be formed taking into account the opinion of all interested parties, including Russia, the prospects of the strengthening of the foundations of collective security on the continent, the development of all-European cooperation, and also the need to provide guarantees of the unswerving observance by all countries aspiring to participate in the North Atlantic Alliance of the international agreements concluded by them;

—only by taking the aforementioned factors into account will it be possible to contribute to the creation of the prerequisites and favorable conditions for collaboration between the Russian Federation and NATO and the transfer of relations between them to the level of real partnership;

—at the present stage one should conduct a multivector policy of all-round development of cooperation with all international institutions capable of contributing to the creation of an integral system of collective security in Europe.

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## Need for Higher Approval Viewed

*PM2611102193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 7*

[Aleksandr Vasilyev article: "Primakov Comes Out of the 'Wood.' Kremlin Amending Its Stance on NATO with Help of Intelligence?"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service yesterday published its report "Prospects for NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests." We can imagine how it was prepared—how Russian station officers chatted at society receptions or in noisy restaurants with officials and journalists who had accurate information, or pretended they had; how "our man in Europe" would meet a NATO secretary in some zoological gardens and take from her trembling hands a copy of a top secret paper; how another operative would hastily translate an article from Britain's THE ECONOMIST magazine, prefacing it with "we have learned from a well-informed source." All this came together in Moscow, in the Yasenevo "wood," where specialists analyzed it and pondered on it, and where stylists scratched their heads, choosing between "seemingly probable" and "there are grounds to believe." Then this raw material landed on the desk of Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, the director of the Foreign Intelligence Service. Incidentally, we have learned from well-informed sources that Ye. Primakov did a lot of work on the report—he is proud of his handiwork, and that is why he presented it in person yesterday.

The conclusion can be drawn from the report that the prospects of NATO's expansion suit everyone except Russia. It is something that the Western powers and their smaller allies want—admittedly, for different reasons. They also have different views of the process whereby states can join NATO. The Europeans want their younger brothers in the East to first pass through the purgatory of the European Union [EU] and its military organization—the Western European Union [WEU]. "It is believed that the gradual involvement of the aforesaid states in cooperation with the West in the security sphere via European structures will have a disciplining influence on potential NATO members and instill in them the habits of 'civilized international intercourse'," the report says.

If Russian intelligence officers are to be taken at their word, our former Warsaw Pact allies will have no chance of joining NATO this millennium. The prospects for joining the EU are very vague, and WEU members cannot sort things out among themselves. Here is a small example. Strasbourg is the location of the joint German-Franco-Belgian corps—the embryonic forerunner of united European armed forces. It is commanded by the German General Helmut Wilmann. Until now orders had been given in German and French—it had hitherto been a Franco-German brigade. It was recently decided to turn it into a 40,000-strong corps with the addition of 12,000 Belgians. All the Belgians understand French, and some of them speak it. But the native language of 6 million Belgians is Flemish. This is a politically acute question of principle, and therefore Belgian Defense Minister Leo Delcroix stated the other day that he would withdraw his men from the corps if orders were not also given in Flemish. French Defense Minister Francois Leotard proposed that orders continue to be given in German and French, but that Flemish be recognized as another official language of the corps and that all documents be translated into it. A highly placed, unnamed Belgian official suggested that English be used as the language of international communication, expressing doubt, however, that the French would agree to it.

So there you are. Nonetheless, it is a good thing there is no war on—how would the united corps be able to fight? All they lack is a few Czechs and Hungarians. But let's get back to the report. Germany admits that Central and East European countries may join NATO before gaining full EU membership. Bonn is clearly looking eastward. The Germans are offering themselves as the "locomotive," with the intention of first developing links with NATO candidates on a bilateral basis.

Turkey, Greece, and Portugal are cautious about the idea of expanding NATO. They still need help from their richer allies, and they see the former Warsaw Pact members whose friendship is being forced upon them as rivals.

As for the United States, it has advocated expanding the NATO framework for the past three years, in an attempt to turn it into an "open club." In October Washington put forward the idea of "partnership for peace." "On the basis of existing explanations, full-scale and active participation in 'partnership for peace' could in practice be a necessary condition for future NATO membership, but is no guarantee of acceptance into the alliance," the Foreign Intelligence Service report says.

We can assume (and this is no longer part of the report—NATO's future and the fate of Russia are subjects considered not only by academics) that the expansion of NATO needs the Americans to continue to play the leading role so as to prevent the residents of the Old World hiding in "fortress Europe" and raising the drawbridge. Thus, America is the main ally for the Central and East European states which dream of joining in NATO's values. As long as the Germans, French, and Belgians argue about what language to say "Stand at ease, smoking permitted!" in, then "partnership for NATO" will most probably produce premature fruit. [sentence as published]

The current NATO states are united on three things. First, there can be no question of immediate acceptance as full bloc members. A transitional period will be needed for everyone—even the most "advanced." Second, Russia will be the last to join the alliance, if it joins at all. Third, everything must be done to ensure Russia does not take offense.

It has to be said that the section of the report devoted to the reasons why we might take offense is the most interesting. "It is hard to assume and would be wrong to proceed on the basis that the geographical expansion of NATO will serve to create a bridgehead aimed at launching a strike against Russia and its allies. But this conclusion is not the same thing as saying that NATO's move eastward will not affect Russia's military security interests," the intelligence officers hint.

The Foreign Intelligence Service analysts note that NATO has not yet decided where it stands in the system of international relations following the "cold war." The bloc is staking a claim to the role of guarantor of European security. At the same time, the FRG's influence is growing—which, under certain circumstances, could lead to a revision of the borders which emerged following World War II. What if Romania joins NATO? What stance will Bucharest take on the problem of unification with Moldova? What will become of the Dniester Region? Analysts are also worried about the prospect of the Baltic states joining the bloc.

The Russian military has plenty of problems too. They have to review their defense concept, reform their forces, and change their operational plans, which will incur additional state budget expenditure. "These measures, from the military standpoint, are an objective requirement and should be implemented irrespective of the fact that, in political terms, NATO is no longer seen as the enemy," the report claims.

So what is the conclusion? The West needs to consult with Russia and take account of its interests, and its interests "would be served by synchronizing the process of expanding the zone of NATO responsibility, changing the nature of the alliance, and adapting its functions to the features of the current stage of historical development."

Thus, the report is being read with interest, although I would not say that it makes stronger reading than Goethe's "Faust." Intelligence officers are just as cunning as diplomats—there is as much to be read between the lines as there is in the text. Here, for instance, is a task for an inquiring mind—what is the meaning of the fact that the report is being published within the context of Russia's domestic political life? Is the "power structure" gaining strength? One thing is clear—Academician Primakov can put down whatever thoughts he likes on paper, but Director Primakov cannot make them public without higher approval. Everything has been coordinated, hasn't it, Yevgeniy Maksimovich?

One recalls Russian President Boris Yeltsin's recent statement in Warsaw: You want to joint NATO? Be my guest! Is the Foreign Intelligence Service report published yesterday really a kind of amendment of the Kremlin's position on this highly delicate issue? It would be good to read a CIA report on this subject. An open report, of course.

### Security Concerns Prompted Publication

*PM2611104993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1*

[Report by Anatoliy Anisimov and Dmitriy Kulik: "Foreign Intelligence Chief Appears in Public, But Says Neither 'Yes' Nor 'No' on Question of Russia's Joining NATO"]

[Text] A report prepared by the Foreign Intelligence Service and entitled "Prospects for the Expansion of NATO and Russia's Interests" was presented at a Russian Foreign Ministry news conference. The news conference was chaired by Foreign Intelligence Service Director Yevgeniy Primakov.

Why does the promulgation of the report appear to us to be extremely important generally and, in particular, at this time? The question of the prospects for NATO's expansion as a diplomatic issue turns out, by force of circumstances, to be a secondary matter as far as our public is concerned, in relation to the domestic political events of recent months. Moreover, in earlier conversations with Foreign Ministry officials, they were quietly confident that the question of partnership in NATO or of participation in it in the long term would be unlikely to cause widespread controversy. Without wanting to rebuke the Foreign Ministry, I would like to say that the question of some form of alliance with the North Atlantic bloc should be studied very seriously indeed, publicly, and with expert input. Particularly as it is a matter of weeks before the January meeting in Brussels. For example, the absolutely essential reappraisal of all defensive concepts, reorganization of the Armed Forces, review of the operational allocation of theaters of hostilities, and other measures will require, over a short period, expenditure that is beyond our means. At the same time, as the report rightly points out, it is an objective inevitability and should be implemented without delay.

In broad terms the question is as follows: Why is it necessary to adapt to the forms established in NATO anyway? It is perfectly clear that there is no mechanism as yet for maintaining international security that matches the conditions of the postconfrontation period.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has learned that Russian intelligence has long been studying the problem of the expansion of NATO, but the document was originally a secret one, intended for the Russian Federation Security Council. But in view of the serious consequences for Russian security in the event of the expansion of the NATO bloc, Foreign Intelligence Service Director Yevgeniy Primakov, who, incidentally, was personally involved in the work on the report, decided to make it public.

On the subject of Russia's geopolitical and national interests, the Foreign Intelligence Service director said:

"Russia's assumption of the Soviet Union's geopolitical role is both contraindicated because of the current nature of Russia and basically not within its power. No one is suggesting that the states that used to make up the Soviet Union together with Russia should be subordinate to Russia. But, at the same time, it should not be seen as a manifestation of any imperial aspirations." [sentence as published]

...We do not know whether it was a coincidence or not, but almost at the same time as the press conference, organized by the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service and foreign policy department, there was a briefing. In connection with Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's upcoming visit to Rome and Brussels.

But, naturally, the question that interested journalists most of all was the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service report and the Foreign Ministry's reaction to it. As it happens, they had "not set eyes on the report" in Smolenskaya Square "and cannot make any judgment." "It is the opinion of just one department, not of the entire Russian leadership," journalists were told.

At the same time, it was noted at the Russian intelligence press conference that all the main departments and, naturally, the Foreign Ministry as well, had acquainted themselves with the information contained in the report. Moreover, the Primakov department blueprint had been approved by the Defense Ministry and by the Russian president. The Foreign Ministry, though, did "not know about this" either.

### Defense Official Views Expansion of NATO

*LD2511180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1633 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Ethnic conflicts posing the major threat to the military and political stability in Europe cannot be resolved by the quantitative expansion of NATO, according to Russian First Deputy Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin.

Commenting on the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service report "prospects for the expansion of NATO and Russia's interests" delivered by its chief Yevgeniy Primakov on Thursday, Kokoshin said that the central role in ensuring security in Europe should be played by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). He stressed the need to pay more attention to some of the aspects of French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur's plan which has been supported by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Kokoshin described the report as a serious and thoroughly thought-out analysis. He added that some points are disputable, but on the whole its conclusions are "very interesting and important."

### Foreign Ministry: 'No Threat' Seen in NATO

*LD2511204893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry's policy toward NATO rests on three fundamentals - Moscow sees no threat for itself from NATO; each state in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere has the right to guarantee its security by all available means, merger with NATO included; however, Russia regards NATO's expansion without its role as "counterproductive." This position was confirmed at a briefing in Moscow on Thursday by Galina Sidorova, a political adviser at Russia's foreign ministry.

She described the analytical survey entitled "The Prospects of NATO and the Interests of Russia," published by the Foreign Intelligence Service's Chief Yevgeniy Primakov on Thursday, as "a contribution to the discussion" on the problems of NATO by one of the departments concerned. She also warned journalists against dramatizing the situation.

She recalled that the Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had suggested setting up a coordinating body that would draft proposals on home and foreign policy issues by considering the views of all the departments concerned.

### Foreign Ministry To Propose 'Alternative'

*LD2511212693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1652 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Russia is going to propose an alternative to NATO expansion and believes this should be achieved by developing the North Atlantic Cooperation Council into a body which would coordinate peace-keeping efforts and military cooperation between NATO, Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, according to a senior Foreign Ministry official.

More active work of the Council is "an alternative to the expansion of the NATO membership", Yuriy Ushakov, head of the Foreign Ministry's department on security and cooperation in Europe, told reporters on Thursday.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will attend a session of the Council in Brussels on December 3 and will propose that the organisation coordinates, under the CSCE auspices, peace-keeping efforts of NATO, the West European Union and the CIS, as well as the cooperation in military planning and conversion among the countries of NATO, Eastern Europe and the CIS, according to him.

Russia believes the Council should become an instrument of "partnership for peace" and be an independent body, Ushakov said, adding that Kozyrev would propose to create a special fund to support peace-keeping operations.

### Kozyrev Sends NATO Note on Military Doctrine

*LD2411225293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Russian Ambassador to Belgium Nikolay Afanasyevskiy has passed on a message by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. It explains the main principles of the new Russian military doctrine. ITAR-TASS reports that the head of the North Atlantic Treaty has spoken of the favorable impression formed by the NATO Council after its first acquaintance with the published material relating to the Russian military doctrine. At the same time, some of its individual points give rise to questions, he said. Manfred Woerner spoke in favor of continuing the dialogue between Russia and the NATO countries in the spirit of cooperation and partnership.

### Kozyrev on Peacemaking in Former Soviet Union

*MK2411111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 93 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Igor Rotar under "World Order" rubric: "The Military Should Master the Art of Peacemaking. Andrey Kozyrev Did Not Deny Reports About the Russian Army's Helping the Abkhaz"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rotar] What is Russia's political concept with respect to zones of conflict on the territory of the former Union?

[Kozyrev] There are general concepts of Russia's foreign policy and external security. They provide for the priority of efforts to end conflicts primarily on the territory of the former USSR, in other words, near Russian borders. There is also a fundamental decision (it is reflected in the defense and the foreign policy doctrines) on developing a capability for prompt peacemaking and a rapid mobilization of resources to conduct peacekeeping operations in the hot spots, primarily on the territory of the former USSR and in other regions as possible. It is also essential to single out such basic provisions as the protection of the Russian-speaking population, the rendering of humanitarian aid in conflict zones, and the accomplishment of political settlement within the framework of the negotiating process, including with Russian mediation.

[Rotar] What functions is the Russian army implementing in conflict zones?

[Kozyrev] The Russian army, without any preparation, literally "while marching" ["s koles"], had to take on a whole number of peacekeeping functions—from operations to maintain peace, using the "international" language, to maintaining elementary order and protecting civilians—that is to say, functions that are not typical of armed forces, at any rate, of the Soviet army. The Soviet army was created to conduct a global war with U.S. imperialism and was oriented toward accomplishing a quick victory by using massed firepower. All of this is absolutely unacceptable for resolving regional conflicts—here some totally different approaches need to be used. The armed forces have been confronted with great difficulties. The officers and enlisted men who found themselves in trouble spots are displaying courage, and I would even say heroism, and they are mastering the new art as they go along.

[Rotar] The Russian troops are often—and, in my opinion, not unreasonably—accused of supporting one of the warring sides in conflict areas....

[Kozyrev] The problem is that the conflicting groupings categorically reject the very idea of peacemaking and try to get the Russian troops on their side. A classic example is the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. The Abkhaz demanded military aid from Russia. And although perhaps there were no concrete facts of Russia's involvement in the war, the statement by one of the Abkhaz leaders that he relies on the Russian army immediately provoked a stormy reaction on the part on the Georgian leadership. Such problems inevitably emerge in all conflict zones where peacekeeping forces operate. Thus, the "blue helmets" in Somalia are also being constantly accused of helping one of the conflicting groupings.

[Rotar] Nonetheless, there are also concrete facts showing that the Russian army is rendering assistance to Abkhaz military formations. Thus, under the Sochi agreement, all breech mechanisms [zatvory] from heavy weapons in the Abkhaz army—and this is registered by international observers—were placed with Russian military units. After Gudauta violated the Sochi agreement, these mechanisms mysteriously returned to the Abkhaz army. Even if one believes the Abkhaz leader's statement that supersonic aircraft are being bought with tea and tobacco, the following fact remains unclear. The sole airfield from which Su-type aircraft can take off belongs to the Russian army.

[Kozyrev] At present it is apparently difficult to comment on concrete facts. While giving the Russian troops in conflict zones their due, it would be wrong to talk about an ideal—there is still much room for improvement and this is what needs to be addressed. These guidelines are also contained in the military and the foreign policy doctrines. So far we have not provided an answer to the question of whether Russia is capable of fulfilling a peacekeeping mission—sometimes this is called into question. I believe that we are obligated to carry out peacekeeping missions in the neighboring states. There are two extremes: to clutch to a supercentralized state, the USSR—this is hopeless; or by contrast, to pull out completely from the zones of traditional influence which evolved or, if you like, were won over centuries—this would be an unwarranted loss. The solution consists in that we should have troops (on the principle of military bases) in conflict zones, capable of conducting peacekeeping operations without those side effects you are talking about. I hope that together with the military we will be able to accomplish this mission.

[Rotar] What role in peacekeeping operations in conflict zones on the territory of the former USSR is allotted to international organizations?

[Kozyrev] The role here of the United Nations and the CSCE is very substantial. The participation of these organizations would guarantee the neutrality of peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, UN forces could share their peacekeeping experience. I am referring primarily to the neutral states (the Swedes, the Finns, and the Austrians) who have accumulated vast experience in this field. In peacekeeping operations, these are superpowers and they can and want to share their experience. Look at what difficulties the Americans are having in Somalia! This is related to the fact that the Americans, as well as ourselves, have never participated in peacekeeping operations—they have been preparing for a war against us.

[Rotar] And still, who will make up the core, the foundation, of the peacekeeping forces on the territory of the former USSR?

[Kozyrev] It would be a mistake to ignore the role of the United Nations and the CSCE, but it would be another extreme to abandon this sphere completely to the hands of these organizations. This is a zone of Russian interests and this is understood by all sides, and it is Russia that is being asked for assistance. Moreover, as of now, the United Nations and the CSCE have neither the forces nor the means to conduct peacekeeping operations. On the other hand, the transfer of peacekeeping functions to regional powers is absolutely unacceptable. As soon as we leave these areas, the resultant vacuum will be immediately filled by other forces, possibly not always friendly and maybe even hostile to Russian interests.

[Rotar] Is consideration being given to the option of giving the Russian peacekeeping forces in conflict zones on the territory of the former USSR the status of "blue helmets"?

[Kozyrev] We are working toward this. But the problem is that it is impossible to get carte blanche from the United Nations and the CSCE. Thus, for instance, the operation in Somalia is controlled completely. We in Moscow know all of its details. In this event the "transparency" verification mechanism has been worked out in great detail. We are not quite ready for this: In order to obtain a UN mandate, we should conduct operations approximately in the same way as the Americans in Somalia (their troops constitute the core there). I can anticipate a similar scheme in conflict zones on the territory of the former USSR—we could become the core of peacekeeping forces in Karabakh, Abkhazia, or Tajikistan, provided auxiliary forces are committed from the European neutral states.

[Rotar] Let us talk a little about "specifics." Georgian troops have approached the Inguri river. Abkhaz leader Vladislav Ardzinba has asked Boris Yeltsin to station peacekeeping troops along the Inguri. On the other hand, the Georgian leadership, not without reason, believes that Russia as a guarantor of the Sochi agreement must restore the status quo as of the moment the cease-fire was broken.

[Kozyrev] We have issued a statement saying that we regard the Inguri river as a natural boundary for the "blue helmets." Any crossing of it by the Abkhaz side will result in the tightening of sanctions, and in the event that the "blue line" is violated by Georgia, in their introduction. Neither side liked this. This does not mean that we regard the positions along the Inguri river as a final political settlement. The essence of our position is this: Any attempts to deal with this problem by force are unacceptable. We are demanding from Abkhazia, as well as from Georgia, an observance of the Sochi agreement. Once Abkhazia has demonstrated its serious readiness to start honoring the Sochi agreement, we shall consider the question of lifting sanctions against it. We are also ready to collaborate with the Georgians and also play a mediation role.

[Rotar] What is your point of view on the conflict in Tajikistan?

[Kozyrev] We believe that this problem cannot be settled by methods of force. A dialogue with all the political forces is required. The Tajik leadership understands this and is undertaking concrete steps: Thus a delegation has already been appointed to start talks with the opposition.

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## Filatov Remarks to U.S. Journalists Reported

*PM2511123193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1, 4*

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Sergey Filatov Explains to Americans How Russia Is Approaching First Free Elections"]

[Text] Washington—Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian President's Administration, who is on a working visit to the United States, was received by Bill Clinton 23 November. The main subject of their talks was the domestic political situation in Russia.

The U.S. mass media have recently carried a number of articles calling into question Boris Yeltsin's attachment to the foundations of democracy and criticizing the United States for the unconditional support it has given the Russian leader.

"From afar not everything looks the same as it does to us on the inside," Filatov said at a meeting with a group of journalists. "The period from the October events through to 12 December is going to be a very busy one. It is therefore important for our foreign colleagues to have an undistorted picture of what is happening in our country."

The visit to Washington by one of the Russian president's most trusted officials is being seen by many officials as a rare opportunity to obtain firsthand information. In formal terms the main aim of S. Filatov's visit is to prepare for the visits to Russia by Vice President A. Gore and President B. Clinton, which are scheduled for December and January respectively. But the people talking to Filatov in Washington are most interested in the question of just what is happening in Russia.

### Honesty at the Elections, Honesty After the Elections

"At meetings with my American colleagues I am emphasizing that we have done everything to ensure an honest election campaign," Filatov said. "We are creating equal and utterly favorable conditions for all parties, blocs, associations, and all the candidates."

Nonetheless, the most important point for the United States to understand is, in Filatov's opinion, the importance of the adoption of the new Constitution. "It should rule out our recent tragedies and nightmares," he told his interlocutors, while making no secret of the fact, however, that resistance to the new Constitution is growing. "Previously the campaign against the Constitution was conducted quietly [ispodvol], now people are openly opposing it."

In Filatov's opinion, the new Constitution's supporters have only one way to overcome this obstruction—by explaining it. This approach meets with the Americans' understanding—as does the Yeltsin staff's desire to establish new and civilized relationships with the future State Duma and Federation Council.

"There will be months of busy preparation to be done prior to 11 January, when, under the draft Constitution, the new Russian parliament should begin work," Filatov said. "The president has taken measures in this area by setting up a Legislative Proposals Commission headed by First Deputy Justice Minister Mityukov. The commission is preparing packages of documents in three main areas.

"The first package relates to the standing orders for the work of the State Duma and the Federation Council. The second group of documents is a list and the contents of constitutional laws which may be adopted in developing the Constitution. Finally, the third batch is a list of the federal laws which will need to be urgently adopted in the light of Russian conditions."

The Americans are particularly interested in press controls. "We have done everything to ease this problem, since we are in a disadvantageous position," Filatov said, and he explained that too many of the Russian mass media are monopolized by the state.

He said that a draft presidential edict is under preparation to gradually privatize all the mass media so as to leave us with just one state-owned TV channel.

But Filatov considers the current regulation of the electronic media—television above all—to be fair. At any rate, there have been no major objections from the Americans either at government level or in discussions with public figures.

**Valeriy Zorkin's Deception and the Eight Ringleaders' Hopes**

The Americans' ingrained respect for the impartial and unquestionable authority of the courts may be partly shaken by Filatov's report of the deception perpetrated by former Constitutional Court chairman V. Zorkin.

A "formal legal basis for madness" was how Filatov referred to the Russian Federation Constitutional Court's decision which, as Chairman V. Zorkin described it, constituted grounds for impeaching President Yeltsin.

Filatov said: "Zorkin announced that the justices voted nine to six in favor of applying Article 121.6. But we recently studied the stenographic record of that ill-fated session. It transpires from the stenographic record that the results of the vote were just the opposite! The vote was nine to four against applying Article 121.6. The Constitutional Court members simply failed to grasp this ruse at the time. Zorkin never announced the results directly. It was all done in veiled terms, and the court did not meet subsequently.... I believe that criminal proceedings (against Zorkin) will go ahead, because this proves to have been premeditated...."

Will the trial of the organizers of the October bloodshed not suffer the same fate as the trial of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency? Answering this question, Filatov said:

"There are several stages to this, as it were. First, there are the eight ringleaders, who should be tried as a priority. The second rank of participants will require a longer investigation to study their case. These include the Barkashov formations and all those who took up arms to fight against the law. It seems to me that the trial of the main parties to the crime should be held soon, even though their lawyers are taking the line that they should not give any testimony or cooperate with the investigation in any way at least until 12 December. The hope is that the situation may have changed after the elections."

Naturally, Filatov's American interlocutors have a lot of questions about the country's immediate political future. But there is, sadly, little hope that Russia's democratic forces will, as the poet said, "forget their differences and unite as a family."

The Russian guest explained that "regrettably, democratic forces have failed to unite...and there are fears that the strained relations which currently exist between us could persist even after the election."

But every cloud has a silver lining. "There is a view that democrats should not unite to attract more voters. Today one category of voters supports the reforms in their current form, another group rejects them outright, while another sees various nuances. That is why it is no bad thing to have different blocs and parties which will attract more people to the election."

Filatov believes that sociological developments show that the current leaders of "Russia's Choice" will remain in place until election day "unless something exceptional happens." And this means that a majority will be created in the Duma and the Federation Council, which in turn gives rise to a number of unprecedented problems for us.

"There should be some kind of majority in the State Duma which will take responsibility for the creation and activity of the new government. We cannot go on living like this any more, it is not normal for this lack of personal responsibility to continue to exist," Filatov said.

The leader of the president's staff believes that, if a coalition were created, everything would be simpler—society would know who was responsible, and the legislative organ itself would find it easier to work.

"Just before leaving for America I had a meeting with the leaders of parties and associations. One note of alarm was struck—cooperation between deputies and the parties sending them to the State Duma. The most worrying thing that happened in our country (in the former Supreme Soviet) was a kind of treachery. Many deputies betrayed, absolutely betrayed, their positions—including Khasbulatov himself. He was absolutely different from the man we knew when he was elected. Both in terms of his views and his attitudes. And very many others—Isakov, Chelnokov, Sidorenko, Tarasov, a whole slew of them—fled from one camp to another."

Filatov considers it entirely probable that there will be special standing orders which will prevent deputies on party lists (unlike those elected from territorial districts) to arbitrarily change their political platform. "Unfortunately, this is not spelled out in the Constitution, but we cannot begin with one parliamentary majority and end up with another. And that is a demand made by the parties themselves."

### No Doubts About Sincerity

"Familiarizing myself yesterday with the U.S. Administration's activity, I saw for myself yet again that their number one question is collaboration with Congress. We too understood this, but were unable to implement it in practice. And then alienation began to grow, and the favorable moment was lost forever."

Although Filatov quotes curious instances of not being allowed entry to the [Russian] White House upon presentation of his credentials as a member of the presidential team, but was allowed entry when he showed his deputy's card, he nonetheless ascribes some responsibility to the presidential side, claiming that the department for work with the Supreme Soviet was set up in the Kremlin too late.

So the work to prepare for the opening of the new Russian parliament is under way already. Yeltsin, like his U.S. colleague Clinton, intends to make collaboration with the State Duma and Federation Council a priority in his entire domestic policy.

Filatov's confident report that the basis of the current government will almost certainly be preserved even after the election is an element of the stability for which Russia's partners are hoping so much: "The question of a change of either the premier or the government does not arise. The formation of the government was difficult, but I cannot say that it has any major personnel shortcomings. It is a successful government."

Filatov's stay in Washington coincided with an event which he called an "exceptionally important political and economic step that goes beyond anything done hitherto." This refers to the U.S. Senate decision late Monday evening to approve around 60 amendments which prevent further infringement of Russia's interests on the grounds that it was formerly a communist country.

"We can see an immense desire on the part of the United States to see Russia as a great power and a state with a civilized, democratic system," Filatov believes.

Filatov believes that the upcoming meetings in Moscow between V. Chernomyrdin and A. Gore and then between B. Clinton and B. Yeltsin will undoubtedly promote businesslike Russo-U.S. relations. But he refused to answer a question about the likelihood of the U.S. President (who is scheduled to arrive in Moscow the day after the Russian parliament opens) addressing the country's first freely elected legislative assembly.

## Paper Views U.S. Rejecting Cuts in Armed Forces

*PM2511125793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 3*

[Observer Manki Ponomarev article: "If America Itself So Requires..."]

[Text] The United States does not intend to make deep cuts in its Armed Forces in the near future. This statement by Bill Clinton, delivered by him in an interview for the latest issue of ROLLING STONE weekly, seemed paradoxical to some people both inside and outside America. How, they said, can this be so? Because it has already been announced that in five years' time their numerical strength will not exceed 1.5 million. What is happening, is Washington changing its policy?

Nothing of the sort. It is simply that people over there stick rigidly to the rule that America's national interests are paramount. And there is no embarrassment about the choice of methods to protect these interests. In this case Clinton deemed it necessary to stress that any deepening of the process of cuts in the Armed Forces and armaments could affect the United States' capabilities "to defend itself and ensure its allies' security." Recalling the crises and military conflicts in various parts of the world, including the Transcaucasus, the head of the White House went on: "We cannot make any further cut in military potential without knowing what is going to happen in the world in the next five to 10 years."

And that is the case with everything. Washington can loudly proclaim the very highest moral principles and simultaneously embark on cooperation with the most reactionary terrorist regimes. It can proclaim the slogan of free world trade and impose bans on economic relations with countries which the United States considers unfriendly. It can trumpet to the whole world the humane nature of the U.S. servicemen's mission in Somalia and ruthlessly kill dozens of innocent Somalis there in revenge for the death of one of its soldiers.

The Seattle meeting between U.S. President Clinton and China's Head of State Jiang Zemin was typical in this respect among events in recent days. For several years the United States has accused China of gross human rights violations and of proliferating missile technologies, and has subjected it to discriminatory sanctions. But when these sanctions started harming America itself everything was, if not forgotten, then at least pushed to one side. "A good start has been made to developing relations between our countries"—this is how the U.S. Administration leader defined the result of his meeting with the PRC president.

"We cannot allow our national concerns to deflect us from our national interests"—these words of the U.S. President, spoken by him immediately before the Seattle meeting, are the keynote of Washington's entire foreign policy. For the sake of these national interests the United States is going to maintain a huge military budget without worrying that it is making a bottomless hole in the federal budget (its deficit in Fiscal 1994 is scheduled to be $264 billion, while $261 billion is being appropriated for military purposes). For the sake of these interests hundreds of thousands of U.S. servicemen are thousands of miles away from their home shores. For the sake of these interests multipurpose carrier groups sailing under the Stars and Stripes are plowing the expanses of the high seas.

This policy—which is obviously the most important thing—strikes a chord in the American people, who are proud of their country and prepared to make any sacrifices for it.

## NAFTA Seen Likely To Promote 'Domino Effect'

*MK2411124093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 3*

[Mikhail Shchipanov commentary under the "Our Commentary" column: "Everybody Will Have Their Fill of NAFTA"]

[Text] No major international event now remains unechoed on the vast tracts of the former Union. As for the U.S. Congress' actual approval of the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] treaty creating a free trade zone to comprise the United States, Canada, and Mexico, it is going to provide a fresh occasion to talk about the delights of the USSR allegedly dismantled through indiscretion, and about the fact that here in this country even the ruble space has vanished.

In reality, Congress' ratification of the treaty is going to affect Russian leaders' actions too, because one would be able to speak generally about some sort of domino effect where one treaty will alter the climate at many similar talks at once. NAFTA is known to have largely divided America. Some people insisted that the lifting of the customs and tariff barriers, the creation of a common market of 360 million consumers would give American industry a fresh impetus allowing it to sell more. Others felt that in accordance with the well-known law of capitalism (remember Marx?), companies would transfer their money to Mexico lured by prospects of cheap labor, thus increasing unemployment in the United States.

But it is apparent that NAFTA is going to, first, give an impetus to similar integration in the Asia-Pacific region, where the creation of a similar entity is quite probable. Something on the NAFTA model. The just-ended meeting in Seattle of Asia-Pacific region countries, too, has confirmed this idea. Second, this leaves in a less advantageous position members of the European Union, which would have to hasten with the signing of a new agreement within the GATT framework so as not to feel cut off from North American markets. At the moment, the main GATT disagreements center around the unwillingness of, first and foremost, France, to stop subsidies for their own farmers. From now on, the French will find it much harder to resist the pressure from their partners across the Atlantic. Paris would have to make concessions, thus upsetting its internal harmony on pain of being isolated.

The appearance of new free trade zones, however, which is of key importance for the world economy, would make Moscow get its act together. It is obvious that in the new context it is increasingly disadvantageous for Russia to stay outside GATT while increasingly feeling a pariah in world trade. Naturally, the process of our joining this agreement could be dragged out in many respects, but it is simply necessary for Moscow emissaries to move in a new way.

## U.S.-ROK Summit on Nuclear Issues Viewed

*SK2511065393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[From "Today's World" program]

[Text] Station commentator (Sholko) reports as follows: In a joint news conference after the summit held in Washington, U.S. President Clinton and ROK President Kim Yong-sam urged Pyongyang to accept international inspections.

During the news conference, President Clinton unveiled a new proposal for the settlement of the deadlocked DPRK nuclear issue. Judging from his remarks at the news conference, however, there is nothing much new.

President Clinton said the United States would suspend Team Spirit, an annual U.S.-South Korean joint military exercise, promote economic relations, and normalize diplomatic relations only when Pyongyang accepts inspections. He added that Pyongyang's acceptance of inspections will open the way for broad discussions, not only with the United States, but also with other countries.

The United States suspects North Korea of carrying out military nuclear plans and interprets North Korea's refusal to clear its stance on accepting inspections as an attempt to buy more time to develop its nuclear weapons. However, the nuclear issue cannot be resolved through the United States and the ROK resorting to such measures as rearming the ROK Armed Forces and staging massive joint military exercises. Mutual endurance and doubled efforts to ease military confrontations can only be the way to resolve the stalemated nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

## Statement Condemns Ukraine START Ratification

*LD2511204193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Government today issued a statement criticizing the conditions and reservations put forward by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in its ratification of the START Treaty and also Ukraine's refusal to become in the near future a non-nuclear state and accede to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty.

The statement says that Ukraine's actions affect the interests of all states and could require from the international community measures to prevent the undermining of the process of nuclear disarmament and strategic stability. The Russian side, the document notes, will continue to be ready for a constructive dialogue with Ukraine to resolve the whole complex of problems regarding nuclear weapons.

### Ukraine Disconnected From Integral Power Supply

*LD2511230593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Russia has disconnected Ukraine from an integral power supply system. A senior official of the state joint stock company managing Russia's energy supply lines has told the Interfax news agency that Ukrainian power plants have reduced electricity production while Ukraine has raised its power consumption from the united energy system. That could affect the safe operation of two Russian nuclear power plants, one in Kursk and the other Voronezh.

### Ukrainian Envoy Explains Nuclear Status

*LD2311172093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1411 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Ukraine does seek a nuclear free status but it hopes for appropriate moves on the part of its partners and above all, Russia, Ukrainian ambassador to Moscow Vladimir Krzhanovskiy told reporters on Tuesday.

In his words, the way in which the Ukrainian parliament had ratified the Start-1 agreement and the Lisbon Protocol on the country's adherence to the non-proliferation treaty "was not a forced but well-conceived and measured decision." The ambassador said Ukraine did not want a repeat of what happened with tactical nuclear weapons which were moved out of its territory. "We have been raising the question of compensation for one year now, but this causes nothing but surprise on the part of Russia," Krzhanovskiy said.

He denied that Kiev was out to destroy the nonproliferation regime given that the country is unable to produce, or launch nuclear weapons from its territory. The ambassador said President Kravchuk and the Foreign Ministry were seeking a special status for Ukraine as a non-nuclear power deploying nuclear weapons on its territory.

On the question of compensation and international security guarantees, Krzhanovskiy stressed his country did not ask either the world community or Russia for a single cent for purposes other than nuclear disarmament. In his words, Kiev wants all of the weapons transferred or pending transfer from Ukraine to be stripped down so as they cease being weapons as such. At the same time, he said, part of the nuclear warheads moved out of Ukraine must be stored rather than dismantled.

The ratification of the two papers was carried out exclusively in the framework of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. We will not do less than envisaged by the treaty, but we are cannot work miracles and are not going to speed up the process without a proportionate response from our partners, said the Ukrainian ambassador.

Ukraine is well aware of Western anxiety over nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine and is doing all it can to coordinate its actions with Western countries, above all the United States, Kryzhanovskiy told Interfax. In his words, Ukraine meets more understanding on the issue from Washington than from "the fraternal Russian state."

### Envoy Views Kozyrev Remarks

*MK2411135093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 1*

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Diplomacy" rubric: "Ukrainian Ambassador Defends His Country's Stance Following Moscow's Harsh Reaction to Ukrainian Reservations Over START I"]

[Text] Harsh statements by top Russian diplomats with regard to reservations made by the Ukrainian parliament during the ratification of START I and the Lisbon protocol could not but draw a response from the Kiev authorities. Volodymyr Krzhanovskiy, Ukraine ambassador to Moscow, held a news conference the main theses of which—although the diplomat would not make direct comments on his Russian counterparts' statements—echoed what was said by the Russian Federation foreign minister. Krzhanovskiy (as a matter of fact, he is not only an ambassador, but also a Ukrainian people's deputy) called his parliament's decision balanced, not forced. The ambassador recalled that his country has never received any compensation for tactical weapons that have been withdrawn from Ukrainian territory. Presently Ukraine needs money to destroy nuclear weapons because its own resources are clearly insufficient. Moscow's emotional reaction only proves that "something that our partner had thought out fell through. We have done something not in the way Russia would like us to. They expected that we would procrastinate on this treaty for some time to come so that they could say about us: They do not want to do anything. We have ratified the treaty, however." As for Andrey Kozyrev's statement on a lack of coordination between the actions by Ukraine's executive and legislative branches, the ambassador called it just a statement of facts: "What Mr. Kozyrev says is that he would like somehow to exploit this inconsistency. But this is the only thing he could do now. There is no parliament in Russia so far, so it is impossible to act through parliamentary structures, or to convene the Russian-Ukrainian parliamentary group, which could have been able to help mend the Ukrainian parliament's ways, because it unfortunately does not act as the Russian side would like it to—for it professes not Russia's principles, but those on which Ukraine's interests are based. This is probably why Mr.

Kozyrev will continue to cooperate with Ukraine's executive branch. To conduct talks. Because just to switch off the gas—this reminds me of a childish feeling of offense. This is just the first reaction..."

As if responding to a remark by an unidentified, albeit high-ranking, Russian diplomat, who expressed regret in an interview for INTERFAX regarding an overly soft stance adopted by the West, which is allegedly interested in Russian-Ukrainian differences, Volodymyr Krzhanovskiy said that Ukraine has seen more understanding from the U.S. side than from the fraternal Russian state.

Meanwhile, it has transpired from informed sources that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev refused to meet with the Ukrainian ambassador.

### Comments on Dismantling Warheads

*PM2411164393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Russian Defense Minister Refutes Ukrainian Ambassador's Statement"]

[Text] On 23 November at a news conference devoted to Ukraine's ratification of the START I treaty, Volodymyr Krzhanovskiy, Ukrainian ambassador to Russia, stated in particular that 80 dismantled and disassembled nuclear warheads had been dispatched to Russia from the country's territory.

In a talk with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Major General Vitaliy Yakovlev, deputy chief of staff of the Russian Defense Ministry main directorate, refuted this statement.

"The ambassador's words do not correspond to the real state of affairs," he said. "Apart from two defective nuclear warheads which were dispatched to Russia in late October we have not taken a single warhead out of Ukraine."

According to the general, the shipment of nuclear warheads can only be undertaken by Russian specialists in a railroad train specially equipped for the purpose. No one has planned or ordered such a train. Yakovlev recalled that many nuclear warheads at Ukrainian storage bases are indeed in need of regulation servicing and the urgent replacement of some components in their structure. The weapons designers who visited Pervomaysk in Nikolayev Oblast in connection with the incident there in September reached this conclusion but the problem awaits a decision by the Kiev parliament.

### Kozyrev Views Armenian Explanation on Border Incident

*LD2411174993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1535 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By correspondents Dmitriy Vosboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" program]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, is not satisfied with the statement issued by the Armenian Government on Tuesday in connection with what happened on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan last Saturday [20 November]. A Russian diplomatic mission led by Vladimir Kazimirov, a special envoy of Russia's president, came under fire.

"A preliminary review of the document left the impression that it is not satisfactory," Kozyrev told Interfax on Wednesday "Yerevan seems intent on forcing us to impose sanctions," the minister said. "However this happened at a time when President Levon Ter-Petrosyan was not in Yerevan, and I do hope that he will rectify the situation."

Having expressed regret in connection with what happened to the Russian diplomat, the Armenian government nevertheless maintained that "the extraordinary event was preceded by a change in the coordinated route made by Azerbaijani officials. As a result, Kazimirov and those accompanying him went not to the agreed locality, where Armenian officials were waiting for them, but to another one, where the incident took place."

The Armenian government suggested that the Russian Cabinet of Ministers should despatch an authorized commission to the area to investigate the incident in detail.

"If the commission establishes that the Armenian side is to blame for what happened, we shall be willing to apologize publicly," according to the Armenian government statement.

Yerevan said it hopes that the incident involving Kazimirov "will not have an impact on the active continuation of Russia's peace-making efforts aimed at resolving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh".

### Armenian Premier's Visit Unrelated to Ambush

*LD2411150293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] A working visit by Armenia's Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan to Moscow is totally unrelated to the ambush of a Russian diplomatic mission led by the president's special envoy Vladimir Kazimirov at the Armenian-Azerbaijani border on November 20.

A spokesman for the Armenian Embassy in Moscow has told Interfax that during the visit, which had been planned much earlier than the incident, economic problems in the wake of the introduction in Armenia of its national currency (dram) would be discussed. He did not rule out that Russia would be asked to give credit to Armenia to prop up the dram. "We have introduced our currency and we have some problems," the spokesman said.

### Bagratyan Begins Visit

*LD2411190393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] During an unofficial visit to Russia on November 24, Armenia's Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan had several meetings with the Russian government members to discuss the Russian-Armenian economic agreement for 1994, Armenia's permanent representative in Russia Feliks Mamikonyan told Interfax.

Mamikonyan did not name the Russian Cabinet members who met with Bagratyan because the visit was unofficial.

During the talks, which were mostly informative, Bagratyan acquainted the Russian officials with Armenia's transition to the national currency and with related problems.

Mamikonyan believes that Armenia might have asked Russia for a credit to strengthen the Armenian currency. He also said that it was early yet to speak about the size of the credit.

On Wednesday evening, Bagratyan is to fly back to Yerevan, said Mamikonyan.

### Yeltsin Allows Georgian Security Cooperation

*LD2511173893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin okayed his Security Ministry to sign a cooperation agreement with the Security Ministry of Georgia, according to the press service of the Russian leader.

It added that the draft agreement was proposed by the Russian security minister and that Yeltsin had approved of it.

The security minister was instructed to hold the necessary talks with Georgian counterparts and sign the agreement.

### Russian-Georgian Border Commission Ends Session

*LD2511231493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1745 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi November 25 TASS—The Russian-Georgian joint commission set up to delimitate the border between the two republics ended a two-day meeting in Black Sea resort city of Sochi on Thursday.

This was the first meeting of the commission which discussed the topics for future meetings. The second session will be held in Krasnodar in January or February. Among other things, it will discuss the border in the village of Aygba which is divided into two parts. The commission also plans to discuss the border between North Ossetia and South Ossetia, as well as between the Chechen Republic and Georgia. The Chechen Republic has proclaimed independence, but this circumstance will not hamper the work of the commission, its members said.

### Grachev Visits Western Group of Forces in FRG

*LD2411152393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1421 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Korinenko]

[Text] Berlin, 24 Nov—On his way from Switzerland back to Moscow, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev today paid a brief working visit to the headquarters of the Western Group of Forces. He held a conference with the group's top officers, advising them on the progress of reform in the country's Armed Forces following the adoption of the military doctrine.

Much attention was paid at the conference to the issues of troop withdrawal from German territory. The minister noted the organized manner in which the process was going, and also the fact that in certain aspects the withdrawal is proceeding faster than envisaged in the schedule adopted earlier. There have been no significant problems with the German side, he pointed out, but the issue of mutual settlements as yet needs some additional elaboration.

Grachev described the construction of accommodation for servicemen in Russia as the sorest point. In many cases it lags behind the withdrawal, even though necessary funds are being allocated. While foreign contractors are working to schedule, Russian building industry organizations fail to meet their deadlines, the defense minister said.

### Grachev Meets Slovak Counterpart on Supplies

*LD2511143293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting between the defense ministers of the Russian Federation and the Slovak Republic, Army General Pavel Grachev and Imrich Andrejcak, today was dedicated to the details of the 1994 plan of Russian-Slovak military cooperation. The Slovak defense minister arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of Pavel Grachev.

The meeting was held behind closed doors, but from trustworthy sources the ITAR-TASS correspondent managed to learn that the ministers were able to discuss the question of deliveries of Russian equipment, armaments, and spare parts to Slovakia. Slovakia is showing great interest in purchases of Russian aviation equipment. Russia's debt to Slovakia (about $1.6 billion) should also be discussed, according to Pavel Grachev. It is planned to repay part of the debt in military supplies. The visit by the head of the Slovak military department will continue till 26 November. He is expected to meet with the heads of the Russian ministries of foreign affairs and foreign economic relations.

## Political Issues

### Yeltsin Chairs Security Council Meeting

*LD2511131593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] On Thursday [25 November], the Russian Federation's Security Council met in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of President Yeltsin. The council discussed two items: Defense industries and conversion, and the settlement of the conflict in North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The first question was highlighted by Chairman of the State Committee for Defense Industries Viktor Glukhikh.

The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Secretary of the Security Council Oleg Lobov, first vice premiers Yegor Gaydar and Oleg Soskovets; Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov and Minister of Justice Yuriy Kalmykov.

### Comments on Defense Industry

*LD2511142493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Problems facing the defence industry transcend by far the frame of conversion, according to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The president was speaking at a ceremony of receiving credentials from ambassadors from a number of countries after a meeting of the Russian National Security Council in the Kremlin on Thursday.

Yeltsin said the discussion by the Security Council of the supplies of arms and military equipment to the Russian army was "quite serious and acute", so much so that it was decided to make the problem of developing new military equipment central at one of the forthcoming meetings of the National Security Council.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS about the situation in the Ingush republic and North Ossetia, Yeltsin said the Security Council decided to take a number of additional measures to stabilize the situation in the region.

### Security Council Discusses Conversion

*LD2511214893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] On Thursday [25 November], the Russian Federation's Security Council met in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of President Yeltsin. The council discussed two items: defense industries and conversion, and the settlement of the conflict in North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The first question was highlighted by Chairman of the State Committee for Defense Industries Viktor Glukhikh.

The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Secretary of the Security Council Oleg Lobov, first vice premiers Yegor Gaydar and Oleg Soskovets; Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov and Minister of Justice Yuriy Kalmykov.

Competent analysts have told Interfax that the speech by Chairman of the State Committee for Defense Industry Viktor Glukhikh at the Security Council meeting Thursday was based on the materials of the conversion conference that took place last week in Tula (a center of Russia's defense industry 220 km the south of Moscow). Russian President Yeltsin discussed those problems in Tula at the meeting with the heads of the administrations and leaders of the industry.

The president demanded that the local authorities be more attentive and even show personal control over the process of re- orientation of businesses belonging to the Defense and Industrial Complex. The president said that the attention should be focused on research and development, on creating advanced types of armaments on the basis of high technologies.

The country should have a strong defense and leading scientists. If conversion goes the wrong way, the country will be lost by producing samovars alone.

At the same time, in conditions of restricted financial and material potential Russia should give up mass production of armaments that quickly become outdated.

Glukhikh believes that it is necessary to create more swiftly a system of new economic relations in the Defense and Industry Complex. For example, the complex needs the aid of the financial and industrial groups and joint-stock companies. This will create conditions for advanced civilian goods (aircraft and optical products) to appear at the world market. He believes that the state must sustain the development of up-to-date products manufactured by the converted defense industry.

### Source Says Boris Fedorov Takes Over Most of Shokhin's Jobs

*MK2511084093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 83, 25 Nov 93 (signed to press 24 Nov) p 1*

[Unidentified report: "Redistribution of Duties in Russian Government"]

[Text] According to unconfirmed information, a redistribution of duties has taken place in the Russian Federation Government: Finance Minister Boris Fedorov has been asked to coordinate the problems of internal and external state debt and interaction with international financial organizations and the G-7 countries. Also, he will "directly supervise" the State Committee on Price Policy, the State Committee on Precious Metals and the Use of Mineral Resources, the tax service and the tax police department, the federal service for hard currency and export control, and a number of other agencies. Earlier these matters in the government were in charge of Aleksandr Shokhin, currently on a trip to the Urals and Siberia. Mr. Shokhin, according to the same information, is still in charge of economic relations with CIS countries. The corresponding directive was approved by Viktor Chernomyrdin shortly before his vacations although "documents at this level are supposed to be approved by the Council of Ministers presidium," stated a government staff official spokesman who asked not to be named.

## Redistribution of Seats Denied

*LD2611115093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1105 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov—Rumors which have been circulating over the past few days about a redistribution of duties between members of the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium, in particular a change in the round of duties of Vice Premiers Vladimir Shumeyko, Aleksandr Shokhin, and Boris Fedorov, "have no grounds whatsoever." An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this by a well-informed source in the Russian Government.

According to the source, "various forms of a certain redistribution of functions among the members of the Presidium have indeed been examined, but no official decision on this has been adopted."

Answering a question as to whether it may be considered that all vice premiers are at the moment fulfilling a certain round of duties, the source gave a clearly positive reply.

## Sergey Filatov on New Constitution

*LD2511002993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1448 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Sergey Aleksandrovich [Filatov], the work in which you have been an active participant has been completed—the work on the new draft constitution. This is a historic occasion in one way or another because it is being adopted not just for a year or two. How do you feel about it all? Apparently, it involves enormous responsibility. So what are your feelings about it?

[Filatov] First of all I am very concerned and worried, and I am very much looking forward to 12 December when the constitution will be adopted because it seems to me that, if after 12 December we are left with the old constitution, this will engender a mass of problems—some of which may be insoluble. These problems could bring our society to a very difficult and perhaps even tragic situation because—well, the constitution currently in force has already led to one tragic event [the recent coup attempt]. We need to make it possible for the State Duma and the Federation Council, for the president and the government to work on the basis of some legislation, and first and foremost of the Basic Law, the constitution. It is difficult even to imagine the State Duma beginning its work on the basis of the current constitution—this is difficult to imagine.

Moreover, supposing it turns out that the members of the State Duma will not adhere to the pro-government line—then they will naturally use the current constitution so as again to choose the authorities that would suit it best. So a terribly unstable situation in the country could arise again. [passage omitted]

The main thing that worries and disturbs me, and I hope that this will really happen, is whether the constitution will actually be adopted on 12 December. [passage omitted] I think we must do all we can to make this happen. This is the main thing we need today—maybe, we need all the other things less than this, including the election of the State Duma and all the other elections—but we need a new constitution, that is all. [passage omitted]

They say: It will not give us bread—no, it won't. It will not improve the economy—no, it won't improve it overnight. On 13 December everything will be the same, but it will provide guarantees for our progress along the route of reform, along the route of building a civilized society. It will protect society from Bolshevism and will remove the possibility of having the policy reversed by legal means—which the current constitution permits. [passage omitted] It is another matter that, as some people say, some points in it have not been done very well. This may be so—but it is possible to correct them, and no one has forbidden this. [passage omitted]

You see, we are entering the phase of a new, renewed state, a state that should have a free economy, and human rights are very closely connected with this, because there can be no free economy and no free person in general unless they enjoy free human rights. This is an axiom of the life of every civilized state. And talking about this constitution, it protects the rights and freedoms of individuals and citizens. It includes all the main principles recorded in various international declarations and international documents on human rights. This is the essence of this constitution.

## Election Issues

### Yeltsin Comments on Progress of Election Campaign

*LD2511223393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting today with Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, who informed the head of state about how the preparations for the elections were proceeding.

[Yeltsin] We discussed all the issues concerning the elections and the referendum on the Constitution. As far as the elections are concerned, he, as chairman, is optimistic. The registration has taken place in full everywhere, that is to say, the elections will be held. The only thing is that for the Federation Council, there were only two and not three candidates from Tatarstan and Chelyabinsk. Therefore, under the regulations they will not get into the Federation Council. Well, let us consider that perhaps repeat elections might be held there. So there is no tragedy or drama in this respect. In all other respects it is a normal election campaign. It is a fairly sharp one, but this is a normal thing.

[Correspondent] Are you concerned in any way about the balance of forces that is taking shape?

[Yeltsin] As yet I am not particularly concerned. I am well aware of the balance of forces in respect of the blocs. Tomorrow I am gathering together all the leaders of the blocs and parties to have a talk with them—perhaps they have some questions and problems connected with the Central Electoral Commission or other questions concerning the mass media—and, in general, to exchange views, and at the same time to remind them that they are being given air time on television for them to set out their program, the program of their bloc, and not for them to lash out at the Constitution and the president.

### Yeltsin Meets Leaders of Political Parties

*LD2611094093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0846 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov—Boris Yeltsin held a meeting in the Kremlin today with the leaders of all parties and election associations that have been officially allowed to participate in the elections to the Federal Assembly.

Opening the meeting the president of Russia noted the unusual nature of the present election campaign: 13 parties and associations are taking part in it, he said, while in the past there was only one.

Boris Yeltsin continued: The present election campaign is arousing great interest in the electorate. It is important that they should get their bearings among all the diversity of the programs of the electoral associations.

The head of state said that for the first time 700 to 800 observers from many countries would be coming to our country for the elections. "Thus, it would be a good thing if the culture of the election campaign was in keeping with Russian culture as a whole," he said.

### More on Meeting

*LD2611105893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Text] A meeting is being held in the Kremlin between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and leaders of the electoral associations. The leaders of all associations permitted to take part in the 12 December elections have been invited to the meeting . Our special correspondent Yuliy Semenov is there. This is what he reports:

[Begin Semenov recording] The meeting began about an hour ago; all the electoral blocs and associations are represented. I can name some of the leaders who are here—Gaydar, Shokhin, Volskiy, Panfilov, of the Cedar association, Sobchak, Lukin, Titov, Lapshin, Travkin, Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy—in other words, in principle the majority of the election blocs are represented at a high level.

Boris Yeltsin opened the meeting with a short speech. He pointed to the special nature of the election campaign and the naturally complex nature of the leanings of the electorate. He drew particular attention to the need for a high standard of culture—political culture—in conducting the election campaign. Apart from all other circumstances, the question of national-political pride must be taken into account, since around 700-800 observers from abroad are expected at the elections, and apart from everything else there is a need to behave with dignity in the eyes of the world.

His speech referred to the fact that during the election campaign, in the president's opinion, there has already been some unpleasant features when the airwaves, television and radio, have been used for squaring accounts, for prejudiced criticism, and sometimes incorrect behaviour by political opponents. The president is particularly concerned by some wishes on the part of some candidates to reduce the significance of the draft constitution to zero, and incorrect criticism. He said: I ask for the constitution to be left alone; let's fight for it. He even hinted that if correctness and standards of political culture are infringed then free state airtime may be restricted to certain electoral blocs. Let each one speak for himself and not cut off his opponent's scalp. Examples of this were heard in the president's speech. At the same time, he promised to contribute toward the possible publication of the programs of certain electoral blocs in the press, although some difficulties have arisen in this context.

Finally, I would like to point out that the fog surrounding the question of where the future chambers of parliament will be working has thinned a little. In the president's opinion, one idea is that the the State Duma will be located in the building of the mayor's office—the building next to the White House. There are rooms there for the necessary apparatus and halls, where sessions can be held. As far as the Federation Council is concerned, in Boris Yeltsin's opinion, the best place to house it may be No. 26 Pushkinskaya ulitsa, which we journalists know as the Russian Press House.

Following the president's introductory speech, an exchange of opinions began. The journalists were thanked, and we hope that following the end of the meeting we shall have some information. A briefing is expected by Kostikov, head of the president's press service, after which I hope to give you more details about this meeting. Yuliy Semenov, from the Kremlin. [end recording]

## Yeltsin Says Free Campaign Air Time Could Be Stopped

*LD2611104093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Report by special correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has called for the pre-election campaign to be conducted more properly and for parties to refrain from personal abuse and mud-slinging. The president of the Russian Federation opened a meeting with leaders of the electoral blocs with these words. Boris Yeltsin said that the free use of TV air time will be stopped if candidates deviate from the propaganda of their programs. The president said he intends to fight to the end for the adoption of a new draft of the main law. Regarding the location of the future Federal Assembly, Boris Yeltsin guessed that the State Duma, the lower chamber, will probably be in the building that used to be occupied by the mayor's office and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the Federation Council will be situated in the House of the Russian Press.

## Yeltsin's Deputy Chief of Staff on Elections

*MK2511113593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 4*

[Interview with Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy head of the Russian Presidential Administration, by Pavel Zakharov: "The Democrats Will Get a Majority"; place and date not given]

[Text] Upon learning that KURANTY is interested in the opinion of the deputy head of the presidential administration on the upcoming elections for parliament, Vyacheslav Volkov willingly agreed to a conversation. Yet for a long while there was no time for it, and when we finally met late in the evening, Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, in spite of being tired, said quite confidently and convincingly that the democrats will have a majority in the Federal Assembly.

[Zakharov] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, why should the Federal Assembly work not four years, as originally envisioned, but only two? Who initiated this and what is the rationale behind it?

[Volkov] This idea was discussed at the first meeting of leaders of democratic organizations which considered the creation of a broad coalition in the future parliament. First of all we must take into account that there is very little time left to select the most worthy candidates as deputies to the future State Duma. The voter can hardly be expected to make an informed selection among such a numerous spectrum of party and association blocs.

Furthermore, the difficulties of conducting future political and economic reforms in the next two years were also taken into consideration. All of this led to the decision on a two-year term for parliament. This decision was then approved by the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Conference.

[Zakharov] Does this not mean that the democratic election associations are not very sure of victory in the elections?

[Volkov] Absolutely not. There is a certitude. I repeat that what is involved above all is the quality of the future deputy corps. The proportional system is a new and unusual phenomenon to us, and therefore I think that four years for a new parliament, which may not be particularly qualified, is too risky. It is better not to take any chances here.

[Zakharov] What is your prediction for the outcome of the elections?

[Volkov] I can only speak about the State Duma and only about that part of its deputies who are elected on a proportional representation system, i.e., on party tickets. So, in my opinion, Russia's Choice will get between 30 and 38 percent of the vote. Civic Union in the Name of Stability, Justice, and Progress will apparently overcome the 5-percent barrier but will not poll more than 8 percent. The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc will most likely also stop at a level of 8 percent. Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord will get 15 percent of votes at most.

[Zakharov] What can you say about the fact that such democratic organizations as Petr Filippov's Association of Independent Professionals and Konstantin Borovoy's August bloc have dropped out of the race at the initial stage?

[Volkov] I can only regret sincerely that they have failed to poll the requisite amount of signatures. After all, Filippov sacrificed his high position on the federal slate of Russia's Choice and chose the thorny path of creating a new organization. He is simply fascinated by the idea of forming a professional parliament.

It seems to me that considering that his association is absolutely apolitical, it could have found support among very many voters. Such a category of persons who in sociological surveys are regarded as uncommitted would most likely have voted for professionals—lawyers, economists, sociologists....

The August bloc also had its own views on forms and methods of pursuing reforms and forming a legislative foundation. But their and our ultimate goal is the same—a market economy, a democratic state, and human rights. It is a pity that this bloc has also dropped out of the race....

[Zakharov] So far you have been talking only about the democrats and the so-called center of Arkadiy Volskiy. But there are also well-pronounced opposition forces that are actively engaged in the election campaign.

[Volkov] All opposition blocs have fairly equal chances. Zhirinovskiy's party and the Communist Party may rather approach 10 percent, while the Agrarian Party will even somewhat exceed this level. In total, they will apparently poll 25 to 30 percent of votes, which will allow them to occupy one-third of seats in the State Duma. This is a normal correlation of forces.

On the whole, I think that a wide coalition of democratic reformist organizations, including Russia's Choice, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and some others, will constitute a tangible majority in parliament—approximately 60 to 65 percent.

[Zakharov] And can it happen that after becoming parliamentarians, the democrats will not be so united as you have supposed?

[Volkov] I believe that prior to the elections we should prepare and conclude an accord on the responsibility of a future deputy to his respective bloc or party, and of parliament to the faction that the reform supporters will form. This accord should be countersigned by party leaders and they in their turn will monitor the activity of their deputies in the State Duma.

The democrats have already concluded an agreement not to engage in squabbling during the election campaign but to support each other thoroughly. The centrists and the opposition should not count on a split among the democrats—they will not live to see it happen. I want to assure our supporters in the electorate that the nearer the elections, the more closely united the democrats are.

[Zakharov] This is a reassuring statement, but doubts still remain. After all, the democrats have divided into parties: Gaydar has his own party, Shakhray his own, and the same goes for Yavlinskiy. Would it not be safer to come out as a single powerful bloc in the elections? The differences in their views of reforms are literally negligible.

[Volkov] This is true—the differences are really insignificant. On forms and methods of addressing economic and political questions. The reason for the so-called fragmentation is simple: The "head" of the federal democratic slate is too packed and there seem to be a few too many aspirants to it. I think that this is the whole problem.

Once the situation has stabilized and the most promising leaders have been identified, things will become easier. Over this couple of years the deputies will have colossal opportunities to prove themselves and show the voters that for the sake of Russia's prosperity and in order to deal with common problems, they can unite and consolidate and not divide and split. Some three to four blocs will remain that will be headed by true leaders.

[Zakharov] The slates of some democratic organizations are headed by incumbent ministers and officers from the presidential administration. Do you think that once they have been elected to parliament, they will be able to work normally there? Will we not see a repetition of that ludicrous situation in the Supreme Soviet when deputies in a half-empty hall were running from one table to another to press buttons for their absent colleagues?

[Volkov] One should bear in mind that those ministers who are included in the federal slates of a number of election associations will tender their resignation as part of the entire government as of the moment the State Duma begins to work. And there is no guarantee that in forming a new government, the State Duma will include in it those ministers whose names are now on election tickets.

On the other hand, I hope that the democrats will get a majority in parliament and will be entrusted to form a government, and then, in all likelihood, the reformist ministers on the slate will constitute the core of the new government. I would very much like my forecast to be fulfilled.

[Zakharov] Recently Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin spoke against presidential elections being held in summer 1994. Maybe such elections are necessary after all?

[Volkov] The edict bearing on parliamentary and presidential elections was based on a compromise. Its main objective was not to try to be clever, but to invite the parliament to a peaceful resolution of the conflict: to take the deputies from the White House and face elections together with them.

Today I, for one, no longer regard this edict as operative. For the simple reason that I see it tainted with blood. And the president had to renounce it because blood has been shed by those who were offered a compromise and a way out of the conflict situation. But the Supreme Soviet rejected it.

When a possibility emerged for stabilizing the economy and setting up interaction with a new parliament, it simply does not make any sense to engage in yet another election campaign.

I also think that neither should Presidential Edict 1435 be implemented. At least, insofar as it refers to social guarantees for deputies of the Supreme Soviet. After 21 and 22 September, and especially after 3 and 4 October, I do not think Muscovites will understand it if these deputies, who are responsible for human blood, are provided with apartments in Moscow.

[Zakharov] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, your faith in the successful outcome of the elections infuses the democrats' supporters with a certain degree of optimism, but perhaps there are some problems that cause you anxiety? Or are there no such problems?

[Volkov] You know, I would very much like the largest possible number of voters to come to the ballot boxes on 12 December. So that the majority of the people of Russia should support the new legislative body. So that our opponents have no cause to say that only an insignificant part of Russians trust the new parliament, while the bulk of the voters related indifferently to the elections and therefore do not support the president's actions in forming a new legislative body through an expression of will by the whole people.

This is what I fear, and I am using your newspaper to appeal to the voters to manifest actively their attitude to a particular bloc. And it does not matter which bloc. We must also show the world community and our opponents at home alike that the president's aspiration to defuse tension in society by a nationwide vote is dictated by the most high-minded motives. This is what is the most important to me.

The more voters come to the polling stations—I repeat, regardless of for whom they want to vote—the clearer will be the lineup of political forces in society, the more confident the victors will feel, and the more calmly and responsibly the deputies will make their decisions.

## Registration of Election Candidates Completed

*PM2411141793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 1*

[Report by Lyubov Tsukanova: "Signatures Gathered, Candidates Registered"]

[Text] The latest stage in the election campaign—registration of candidates for the Federal Assembly in single-seat and two-seat districts—has ended. According to Central Electoral Commission data, 490 candidates (178 seats) have been registered for the Federation Council—the upper chamber of the future parliament—and 1,567 (225 seats) for the State Duma. By no means everyone who submitted documents has made it through the registration process—mainly because of irregularities in the signature lists. But even with the screening out of candidates, competition remains fierce—only in a few two-seat districts are there only two candidates; in most you will find three or four, or as many as 15. A large number of former Russian Federation people's deputies, chiefs of administrations and chairmen of soviets, and ministers are running for the Federation Council. A significant percentage—more than 20—are representatives of business circles: entrepreneurs, businessmen, bankers, heads of joint-stock companies. Directors of industrial enterprises constitute a somewhat smaller figure.

There is a different body of candidates for the State Duma in one-seat districts. Here the number of active politicians and major entrepreneurs is considerably smaller; instead regional entrepreneurs, members of local public movements, scientific personnel, teachers, trade union leaders, and journalists are very prominently represented.

Judging by reports coming in from the Russian provinces, nominees of democratic movements and organizations are less prominent there, but communists and social democrats and representatives of other opposition movements which are hoping to get their candidates into the Federal Assembly by taking advantage of the authority of specific individuals are very active.

On the evening of 22 November there was a session of the Central Electoral Commission at which the final lists of candidates in single- and two-seat districts were approved. They will be published in the next few days.

## Boris Fedorov Makes His Election Program Public

*LD2411220093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, nominated for the State Duma, is convinced of the need for a stronger state power, economy and nation in Russia, according to his political program published on the eve of parliamentary elections.

According to Fedorov, the state's main function is to ensure the personal, economic, ecological and political security.

His election program highlights the following key goals: - united, integral and strong Russia, struggle with separatism and nationalism, equal rights for regions and republics; - economic and political union with republics of the former Soviet Union, primarily Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan; - invitation to all those willing to join the Russian Federation; - the state's protection for our citizens and compatriots by every means available in every part of the world; - crackdown on crime and corruption, tougher punishment.

Fedorov believes it is necessary to speed up the creation of a developed market economy. Among the priorities of his economic policy, he names private ownership, equal opportunities, freedom of initiative, safety net for the poor and disabled, stronger ruble, lower inflation and a higher standard of living for the citizens of the great nation.

In his program, Fedorov proclaims his principles - an uncompromising struggle for the national interests and the movement towards wealth and prosperity through a painful, but absolutely necessary transformation of the political and economic systems. "No cheap promises we have no means for" is his slogan.

## Travkin Gives Party Political Broadcast

*LD2411230793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1645 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[From the "Election Hour" program]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Travkin] Now about the elections, about the programs and the subject of today's meeting. It is put to us like this: That there are 13 political blocs, 13 programs, including one program, that of Gaydar, which is the market program, the good one, and all the rest are somehow compared with that one. Look at how everything is arranged with Gaydar: The fight against inflation, stabilize the ruble, restructure the economy, and market and universal happiness. Who is against? As to who is against in overall terms, that is the Communist-Fascists, and they can be left out. Who is against in the details? In the details we are against. So what, are you against the market? No, we are not against the market. So you are not offering anything constructive, and you have no alternative to Gaydar's program. The whole campaign is being drawn up with this kind of logic.

I would propose that the question be simplified a bit. Firstly, there are not 13 blocs. Let us put the unforgettable Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] in brackets straight away. For this, you have to recall that very recently there was a powerful political force Pamyat. What happened to it? It was always like this—as soon as President Boris Nikolayevich had to travel to the United States, for three days Pamyat was on the screen, as though it was such a mighty, Black Hundred [prerevolutionary group] force that some day might take over the whole of Russia! It disappeared, but in its place came Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, a figure to frighten the West to some extent—either you support the current regime, or look out! Yes, I agree that a Zhirinovskiy could, in any society, even in prosperous Britain, gain four, six, or eight percent, but they will never come to power in Russia. For that the whole of Russia has to go mad. So these political figures are the political product of the ruling party—you could put it like that. If that party leaves power, then these figures will also go away.

Regarding the remaining political programs, I would not compare them. What do programs matter here? This is real life, and this real life is a result of pursuing Gaydar's reforms for two years already. There are people who have been in power for these two years. And so everything that is connected with these people, with these electoral blocs, let us compare it with what they have done and are doing, and not with what they are promising. The difference here, well, for me, between the Gaydar bloc and the Gaydar-Chubays bloc, or the Shakhray-Shokhin bloc, there is absolutely no difference at all. The net is being cast a bit wider for the electorate's votes, but the essence is the same. And those voters, those people who like such a life, who are in full agreement—well, there are such people—they will simply go and vote for these blocs, and you cannot reproach them for it. [passage omitted]

Yegor Gaydar can go to Krasnoyarsk and say that there will be no avalanche of unemployment in 1994. At the same time, Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov of the same bloc, reporting at the International Monetary Fund, swears to fulfill socialist obligations that in 1994 there will be 10 million unemployed in Russia. Rest assured, sirs, we shall fulfill them.

I believe Fedorov. They will indeed fulfill them. Because you can lie here inside Russia but you cannot lie there. You have to tell the bosses the truth. [passage omitted]

A situation may be created in which our democrats comprise the president and a big stratum around him—the administration, part of the government, and all the rest of the country is red and brown. This is what we seem to be heading for. [passage omitted]

What does the Democratic Party of Russia offer in this election campaign? Well, in order of priority. First of all we consider that question No. 1 is the fight against crime. How? Until we make the very figure and job of a militiaman prestigious, and create an OK image that he is not just a simpleton with his cap askew, but that he is, what? A respected person, highly-paid who is feared, not only by the hardened felon, but also by the street hooligan. Until we create the technical back-up for the militia and kit him out properly we cannot hope on behalf of the state to protect people from criminals.

The Democratic Party of Russia proposes that the local bodies of power should take part in the creation of this back- up, the rayons and towns. There is an opportunity also for the entrepreneurial structures that today are forced to appeal to racketeers for protection, to take part in the creation of this back-up. It is necessary that this help from the local authorities and entrepreneurial structures should not be taxed, and then we shall see what potential opportunities there are for these structures, and we can improve the equipment and authority of the Internal Affairs Department.

The second thing is tightening up legislation. In Shakhovskoy Rayon, where the head of administration faced no crime other than liquor racketeering, when after the tragic events [referring to October armed rebellion], Gorkom Yuriy Mikhaylovich Luzhkov, the first secretary of Moscow, started cleaning up Moscow—and you know how they cleaned it up? They caught people who did not look like Muscovites, took them to the ring road and gave them a thrashing and threw them out—so Moscow was cleaned up and they went into the oblast, and Shakhovskoy Rayon, 150 km from Moscow, was flooded, OK not with big Mafia types, they went to ground in Shakhovskoy and lay low, these types, they were riffraff. [passage omitted]

Reform of agriculture: We are unambiguously for reforms. Yes, all have the right to exist—collective farms, joint stock companies which have appeared from the collective farm, and the private farm, but the state must assign the priorities here. I would assign the priorities in this way, so that the last ruble should not go to all equally, but to the one that works effectively. That is one.

Second, the state pursues a protectionist policy toward the countryside. Moscow should not in any event, speculating in humanitarian dried milk and deep-frozen strategic meat from the West, stifle the producer of the Moscow region when there is nowhere to put it, and it has potatoes bought from Poland for foreign currency last year that it cannot sell. [passage omitted]

### Urges Local Reforms

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[Interview with Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, transcribed by Inga Prelovskaya; place and date not given: "Nikolay Travkin: We Rely on Common Sense"]

[Text] From the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] economic program:

The DPR, as its economic program says, advocates a "market economy in which consumers' rights and interests and freedom of competition would be protected and the energy of entrepreneurs channeled primarily into the development of production." In this regard the DPR acknowledges the need for state intervention in the economy "in addition to the interplay of market forces."

To overcome the structural crisis the DPR proposes encouraging activity in areas of future economic growth, developing competitive sectors and production units, and implementing conversion projects aimed at assimilating new high-technology output for civilian purposes. Enterprises' costs incurred in the development of production are to be made exempt from taxation.

The DPR intends seeking the adoption of a package of new laws to guarantee the observance of the principle of fair competition and the protection of consumers' rights and the economic rights and freedoms of citizens and to endow local organs of power with sufficient powers for the development of the regional production and social infrastructure.

The DPR believes that peasants should be granted extensive opportunities to choose for themselves the forms of organization of their own production activity based on different types of ownership.

The DPR supports the transition to a democratic, market system of social security.

Nikolay Ilich Travkin, 47-year old leader of the DPR, came to prominence back in the pre-perestroyka period as the author of the team contract method. In 1986 he was awarded the gold star of a Hero of Socialist Labor.

By training he is a construction worker and teacher trainer. Travkin soon carved out a brilliant production career for himself and rose from team leader to be chief of the Glavmosoblstroy [Moscow Oblast Main Administration for Construction] state production association.

He was a people's deputy of the USSR and the Russian Federation. He was chairman of the USSR parliamentary subcommittee and Russian parliamentary committee for the development of self-management. Travkin was among the founders of the Democratic Russia movement. On 22 March 1990 he was one of the first public figures to leave the CPSU and in May the same year he headed the first of the newly created parties at that time—the DPR—which now has local cells in all regions. Its total membership is now over 40,000.

Since the end of 1991 Travkin has been head of the administration of Shakhovskoy Rayon in Moscow Oblast, where he embarked on a course of stepping up the implementation of the economic reforms. After the referendum of April 1993 he resigned as a deputy and urged other deputies to follow his lead so as to accelerate early elections of the various powers.

The DPR is standing autonomously in the present elections.

Recently Travkin met with IZVESTIYA journalists and answered their questions.

[IZVESTIYA] Nikolay Ilich, what is your attitude toward the present elections?

[Travkin] We advocated early elections. But that means early elections to both branches of power. What do we dislike here? The very tight schedule for one thing. Second, since we are trying to establish a multiparty system in the country as the basis of the future parliamentary system, the statute on elections should not have included permission to form blocs. If there were, for example, a Chernichenko party it should have collected 100,000 signatures by itself, and then Chernichenko would have been able to protect the interests of the peasantry in the Federal Assembly and not from the Moscow streets. It is easier for parties to form blocs in order to get their representatives into parliament, and we will still have the 91 parties registered at the Ministry of Justice. But if everyone had to pass the 100,000-signature test individually there would only be five to seven parties in parliament. Coalitions would be formed there which would be repeated at grass-roots level, too. And look, by the time of the next elections to the Federal Assembly we would have had a multiparty system consisting of three or four parties. But the present elections are doing nothing to establish the main institutions of a civil society, in my opinion.

[IZVESTIYA] But the rapprochement of the parties may equally happen during the election campaign. And the haste is due to the extraordinary situation—the absence of a representative power.

[Travkin] For some reason I do not feel that the president's team and the government are suffering from a deep nostalgia over the lack of a parliament.

[IZVESTIYA] You have often expressed criticism of the executive. But how would you assess the interim period from 1989 through the present day? As negative, or has something healthy and encouraging been born in our country?

[Travkin] I view as positive the fact that we have moved from a state of deadlock and from discussion to reforms. But the cost of society's advance is at present enormous and unwarranted. When people say that shoots of a market system have emerged in our country I ask myself what kind of market this is—a street market? Is their appearance commensurate with the loss of almost a whole generation oriented toward trade rather than creative labor? The pro-reform radicals say that there is no starvation in the country. But our consumption in terms of output volume has fallen several times over. In my opinion the past two years have not been a success. We lived off our fat but cried aloud that the people are adapting to market reforms. Today there is no more fat, and we are only just now beginning to feel the effects of shock therapy.

[IZVESTIYA] You call the DPR the party of common sense. But common sense alone is not enough to carry out a profound analysis of the state of society and produce a forecast. Are you not afraid that the down-to-earth view of things will prevent you from being able to see the wood for the trees? After all, at the beginning of the year you said that we had already passed the lowest point of the crisis.

[Travkin] I hope that the screws will not continue to be tightened quite so recklessly. That is why I, as head of an administration, tried to obtain powers from Yeltsin and tried to persuade Chubays and Khasbulatov to come to the rayon. For example, I considered that after our experience had been examined the powers which had been given to me would be given to others too. We in our area were considering how to implement an organizational-legal reform in the countryside and how to organize a financial and credit system.

I insistently campaigned, for example, although without success, for each rayon or city to have the right to its own legitimate internal reserves. In the past our rayon was an importer, we paid the population wages, pensions, and grants amounting to 500 million rubles [R], but we received only R250 million via the trade network. Now the rayon has become an exporter. Trade turnover has increased thanks to the privatization of the trade system. Instead of 11 stores there are now 67. And whereas I pay out R500 million in cash I collect a billion from trade. What I need to do now is to introduce a local purchase tax of 2 percent. I would explain to every citizen of the rayon: To you R20 is nothing but to me, as head of the administration, it mounts up to R20 million. That means that I can buy the very latest dental equipment for the schools tomorrow. Incidentally, we have done that. I can raise the pay of the gerontology unit nurses. We have opened two such units in a year. Previously there were none. Furthermore, I would levy the sales tax not just on people from Shakhovskoy Rayon but also on the Muscovites who buy milk from us. But I cannot impose such a tax.

Or take extrabudgetary funds. I have good business relations with entrepreneurs. It takes me just a day to register them. I give them credits to help them get set up quickly. And I want their mutual understanding. If I have no money to get a school repaired I say: Club together and find 15 million. But if I do collect that money the tax inspectorate will take it away through taxation. My proposal is this: make extrabudgetary funds free from taxation. Give us the right to introduce local taxes. I appealed to the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government—free our hands at local level and we will alleviate the difficulties of the reforms. But there has been no decision on that. The authorities embarked first of all on the privatization of large-scale industry. However, I think that large-scale industry should have waited until we had sorted out the countryside.

[IZVESTIYA] Is that not a departmental approach on your part? How could you sort out the countryside without sorting out the land question first? And the president has embarked on that very matter now—he has just issued an edict on the sale of land...

[Travkin] The right to the private ownership of land was introduced back in 1991. We sold land quite legally last year, the only restrictions placed on agricultural land owners pertaining to time limits [sroki]. The president's edict has indeed lifted those restrictions.

[passage in bold is IZVESTIYA comment]

**In Travkin's opinion, many contentious issues remain which need urgent solution. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been transformed into joint-stock companies. Although each shareholder has the right to take his share, the board can keep a tight rein on it because it is in the board's power how to assess the value of that share. It is necessary to elaborate a mechanism whereby the shareholder can leave the farm. There is not a single document which defines the future of the social sphere in the countryside: When people leave a farm, who takes over the boiler house, for example, or the kindergarten? All these are urgent everyday questions, in Travkin's opinion, and the solution to them is easier to see at grass-roots level than at the top. He is convinced that the center of gravity of the reforms should be switched to the local self-management level.**

[Travkin] I spent two weeks on the privatization of trade. After eight months there was not a single state enterprise left. All the stages were timetabled and our proposals were sent to the people at the top a year ago. But...

[IZVESTIYA] Our newspaper has written in detail about the changes in Shakhovskoy Rayon. But the question is: If there had been no changes in the country, would there have been any in Shakhovskaya [urban-type settlement] either? Tell me, when you enter the Duma what what will your first action be?

[Travkin] I will work for the removal of dilettante revolutionaries from the government.

[IZVESTIYA] Does that mean that you will be an implacable opponent of the government and the president?

[Travkin] Neither I nor any of my colleagues has the slightest desire to return to the past. But nor do I see any possibility of Russia's developing in the way that Yeltsin, Gaydar, and their team are trying to implement today. They have proclaimed the right ideas: the market, democracy. But the methods of achieving those goals are distorting their essence.

[IZVESTIYA] But do you not feel a personal responsibility for the intensied confrontation between the different powers which led to the tragic events?

[Travkin] I have always been trenchant in my comments on questions under discussion but not in my assessments of one side or another. As for my attitude toward parliament, immediately after the referendum I expressed my views by announcing that I was resigning my deputy's seat and as I left I said to those who remained behind: You are just keeping your snouts in the trough, you should go!

[IZVESTIYA] You began as a democrat...

[Travkin] I am a democrat today because I believe that people must be protected. If the state is organized in such a way that it does not ensure that protection, it is not a democratic state.

[IZVESTIYA] Your position has often changed.

[Travkin] My position has never changed.

[IZVESTIYA] In the past year alone—this is surely no coincidence—we have seen in the headlines of diametrically opposed newspapers the image of "Nikolay Travkin's political weather vane." At one time the DPR acted in concert with Democratic Russia, then it appeared in the People's Accord bloc with V. Aksyuchits' Christian Democrats and M. Astafyev's Constitutional Democrats, then it joined Civic Union along with Rutskoy's party and Renewal, then this fall you split with them. You personally have broken with G. Kasparov and M. Salye, you disagreed with Academician S. Shatalin, with Svyatoslav Fedorov... Why have there been so many differences of opinion?

[Travkin] First, the DPR and Travkin have never joined any blocs: We have created them, and we have ended them when people and situations changed. Aksyuchits moved sharply to the left under the banner of patriotism but we stayed in the center. Civic Union moved away from the principled position that we had agreed on with it. Rutskoy moved sharply to the left and Volskiy began his political maneuvering...

[IZVESTIYA] They speak about you as an authoritarian leader. Has this characteristic not prevented you from reaching a lasting agreement with others? Admittedly, among politicians in our country there are fewer diplomats than fighters.

[Travkin] Yes, I will conclude an alliance with the devil if it enables me to resolve a situation by peaceful means. Not calling people to the barricades—that has been my creed and my party's creed from the very beginning. It was on that point that I parted company with Kasparov and Salye.

[IZVESTIYA] But now, judging by a report from one news agency, a row has broken out between you and the party's Moscow branch, apparently over the election lists?

[Travkin] The lists were compiled in the regions. I had nothing to do with them. I merely said that the first eight people should be retained. The Muscovites submitted a list of 28 people. But who knows those people in Moscow? What? I said: Are you trying to fob me off with some failed junior academics again and make the public laugh? All you are doing is squabbling, and you have no normal organization—you have shown that by your inability even to gather the signatures. There are a number of prefecture organizations which have worked well, annd they have been instructed to create the Moscow organization anew. This is not authoritarianism, this is good order.

Life prompted me to enter politics. When I ceased being chairman of the DPR I thought that within a year I would retire completely. I built myself a home in Shakhovskaya. I told the party: People, I have done my job, learn to work without me. I would have had nothing to with Moscow, let alone big-time politics. But then the events of September and October took place and there was no choice left. Either you become involved in politics or else you get drawn into them.

[IZVESTIYA] And you decided to become involved?

[Travkin] If the pro-reform radicals take full power, that will be a tragedy for the whole country. I myself will have work to do. And anyway, I cannot leave Russia, I have nowhere to go.

[IZVESTIYA] Whom would you have kept in the government, had it been up to you?

[Travkin] Chernomyrdin.

[IZVESTIYA] Is that all?

[Travkin] What do you mean, is that all? Chernomyrdin, as premier, will choose his own team.

[IZVESTIYA] But if you were premier?

[Travkin] I do not see myself as premier, so what is the point in playing guessing games? What I want is the government to contain those people with something to offer. I simply would not keep people with no practical experience.

[IZVESTIYA] But after the seventh congress you said that we should not hold out any great hopes of government reshuffles. Is that right?

[Travkin] Our government is not an autonomous entity. It is a whipping boy. There is a general secretary who is not accountable for anything but who thinks himself a guarantor.

[IZVESTIYA] In your view, who should be held accountable for the October tragedy?

[Travkin] I expressed my position immediately on 3 October when it was all just beginning. In my opinion, the responsibility is borne by all those who brought the confrontation to a state of bloodshed. In that situation the premier should have taken power into his own hands and used any means, including force, to halt the bloodshed. After that it would have been down to the Federation Council and the calling of elections to both power structures.

[IZVESTIYA] But Yeltsin did use force to halt the bloodshed.

[Travkin] I still cannot understand how tanks could fire on the parliament, given that it was known that there were people in there.

[IZVESTIYA] But can you imagine the kind of society we would be living in now if the coup planned by Rutskoy and Khasbulatov had succeeded?

[Travkin] Terrible! But I think that it was still possible to work toward new parliamentary elections by peaceful means. I proposed that all democrats, governors, and authorized representatives assemble and that all 400 of them should leave parliament. The president would have been forced to call new elections.

[IZVESTIYA] But those 400 deputies were not there! And the president won the referendum, which gave him the right to act decisively.

Nikolay Ilich, you, it seems, are a supporter of parliament from among the ranks of professional politicians. What do you make of the presence of well-known artistic figures on the party lists? Doronina, Kobzon? The moviemaker Stanislav Govorukhin is an odious figure to some, but others like him.

[Travkin] Why is it that Govorukhin was popular with the democrats when he told the truth about the past but his truth about the present is rejected?

[IZVESTIYA] He corrected the one-sided view of the past but has himself lapsed into one-sidedness today... So, what is the selection criterion here?

[Travkin] Our criterion when forming our lists was as follows: first, the man's honesty; second, professionalism in his work, demonstrated on the grand scale; finally, Govorukhin is of special significance to us precisely because he is in the top three on the list. The liberal-minded audience does not express sharp criticism of Gaydar's course. It would be easier for our candidate to say that we should not be regarded as the inflexible opposition. Like Gaydar, we are in favor of the market, after all. Like Chubays, we support privatization. But then someone might stand up in the hall and say: Govorukhin is second on your list and he states that the country is being pillaged. No trickery here: You are the inflexible opposition, you are tearing down the bridges...

Each of the first 10 of our candidates has his own burden to bear. Academician Bogomolov, the economist, rejects the myth of the primitiveness of Travkin's program. Former minister Sergey Glazyev sees which laws are needed for the normal liberalization of foreign economic activity to prevent the country's economy from being wrecked. Nikolay Fedorov is a lawyer with a statesman's view. Both left the government for political reasons.

As for our common sense, I think that the reforms are none too down-to-earth today. They must be based on each individual, and the country's potential must be tapped at grass-roots level. So that things improve all the time, even if only little by little.

[IZVESTIYA] As someone involved in the national economy, you must understand how difficult it is to reduce production even by half. But do you remember how much the production of tanks was cut in Russia in 1992?

[Travkin] Sixfold, I think.

[IZVESTIYA] Tank production in Russia in 1992 was cut by a factor of 34. And do you believe that such a structural overhaul could have been carried out little by little? There is not a single serious economist who has claimed that reforms are possible without big losses. It is one thing to implement them in a place the size of Shakhovskoy Rayon, and quite another when you are dealing with an area like Russia.

[Travkin] Russia consists of 1,643 rayons like Shakhovskoy. So let us try to make things a little better in each of them.

[IZVESTIYA] If you become a deputy, would you like to retain your post in Shakhovskaya?

[Travkin] If it is possible to combine the duties of deputy with the duties of vice premier, then perhaps it will be possible for me, too.

## Zhirinovskiy on 'Election Marathon' Program

*LD2411232593*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 23 November carries the 30-minute "Election Marathon" program with a presentation by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR).

Zhirinovskiy begins by saying: "I wanted to speak about a different subject today to help you get to know us better, but Travkin [Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia] spoke on the First Program this evening and made a personal attack on me. I do not want the election campaign to be turned into attacks on the leaders. The one to blame is the one who starts it just as in any war and in any other conflict. In this case Travkin attacked us and I am just responding and I repeat that I do want to start each time with attacks on each other. Especially since this was a lie.

"I can tell only the truth about Nikolay Ilyich. I did not wish to tell you what he was treated for twice during his youth. This was in Shikhovo Rayon, Moscow Oblast. Old people there will tell you what Kolya Travkin frequently abused and was treated for. I do not at all wish to tell you why he was expelled from the Pedagogical Institute, how he served the communists for so long and then, having served them for 20 years, threw them aside, betrayed his party which had raised him from the gutter to the heights."

Zhirinovskiy also criticizes Govorukhin, another prominent figure in the Democratic Party of Russia, saying he should stick to film- making.

He then continues: "Today I wish mainly to address the older generation and, in particular, pensioners and veterans because they are the ones who are suffering most. Chiefly, this has been a great psychological blow; the impression that they have lived their lives in vain, that everything was bad—the revolution, the war, and everything they have done. Our party has a different position. We do not blame the older generation for anything. On the contrary we bow down to them and say to all of you that you did everything well. You are leaving us a normal country, a good economy, in principle, great cities, fine transport, fine science, and culture. You did everything you could and now you have the right to a dignified old age.

"However, the present reforms are being carried out at the expense of pensioners and are aimed at killing them off as soon as possible.

"Today I wish to talk about the older generation, about pensioners. The greatest blow which you have suffered, of course, is losing your savings accounts. Much has been said about this and you know all about it. But no-one says what can be done about it. There is something that can be done. There is no impossible situation. We promise you that we shall restore your savings accounts. But, so as not to increase inflation, these will be non-cash accounts but of the appropriate size. If, before 1990, you had 10,000 rubles [R] in your savings book, this is worth R10 million today. You will receive a savings book again with R10 million. But not in cash. You will have the right to use a certain percentage, say 20 percent of that sum, in the next few years for specific purposes, for example, only for acquiring accommodation or a plot of land or a dacha. In the following two or three years you will be able to use a further 20 percent only for medical treatment or leisure, next only for the education of your children and grandchildren and then, say, a further 20 percent on some expensive articles and finally you could use the final one-fifth of your account to acquire clothing and footwear, again without cash, for tokens obtained from the social security office, in certain shops."

Zhirinovskiy says this will be of great psychological benefit to old people. Furthermore, as the new government would quickly improve the economy these terms could be improved and the measures expanded to cover the rest of the population. Old people could benefit as soon as by summer 1994.

"Here, one cannot fail to speak about the ethnic question and the state borders. When I spoke on Friday some people said: The Baltics and Moldova are far away; I live in the Urals and as a pensioner I want to live a normal, calm life. But you are not going to live a quiet and calm life in the Urals or in Magadan if we do not have normal borders. For example, all of us together built Novotallinskiy port under the communists; it cost R4 billion. It is no longer ours. Now we are building another port, in Leningrad Oblast—more billions of our money. So, you pensioners are not going to live better if we are going to lose territories, ports, roads, communications, the southern regions where it is warmer and better.

"We are all linked together. One cannot just think: I have worked my bit; give me what is mine and I shall live out my time quietly. Unfortunately, this is not how it happens. So, in our multi-ethnic state all pensions' issues are tinged by ethnic issues.

"Just look who has suffered most today. Again, it is pensioners of Russian nationality. Why? Well, the Baltics are trying to avoid paying them pensions. Or take the Trans-Caucasus or Central Asia. They have lost more than anyone. Or take servicemen. They have served their term and are now outside the borders of Russia. Not only can they not receive their service pension but they are not allowed into any form of activity since they served, allegedly, in an army of occupation. To prevent this, to prevent millions of our fellow-citizens suddenly, at the end of their lives from becoming occupationists or colonists we must have a correct state policy.

"If people like Travkin have a good knowledge of how to build pigsties, we have great need of this, but the State Duma will not be building pigsties, it will be building a new Russian state, and here, experience in building pigsties is not applicable, it is terrible."

Khrushchev, he says, was to blame for the loss of Crimea which was developed through the efforts of all the people.

He continues: "The present reforms are being conducted at your expense. They want you to die as quickly as possibly and you are already doing this." He notes that the death rate exeeds the birth rate and that children are dying because vaccine factories are now in other republics."

Zhirinovskiy goes on: "There are nine political blocs; I am referring to political parties, and eight of them are headed by members of the former ruling CPSU. All eight. There is one exception— the LDPR. As its chairman I am sitting here before you. It is the only one.

"Look at the mechanism for selecting parties and candidates. For they all used to run things and still do. Look how cunning they are. They artificially divide themselves up for you. One and the same party, Democratic Russia, splits into four blocs in the hope that you will find someone there you like. If you do not like Gaydar, vote for Shakhray. If you do not like Shakhray, vote for Yavlinskiy. If you do not like Yavlinskiy there is Sobchak. If you don't like any of them then perhaps there is Volskiy. They were all in the same party. They were all running things and continue to do so, and you see the results every day."

"There are shortages of fuel because it is being given away to former republics of the USSR, to help former CPSU members now running Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania, Belarus, Kazahstan, Uzbekistan.

"The same political force is still in power. Its name is the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, but its Bosheviks won in October 1917 and the Mensheviks have won now. If you want real changes, you should bring a new political party to power. Out of all the nine the only new one, the only one with an untarnished biography, the only party with clean hands and a clear conscience—we are unsullied and unmarked by a single drop of blood—is the LDPR."

The LDPR is not anticommunist. It condemns not the ordinary members but the corrupt leaders. All nine Russian leaders from Nikolay II to the present have damaged Russia. The coming elections can reverse this. The country is being run at present by an alliance between corrupt officials and mafia elements; if you wish to put a stop to this vote for the LDPR.

"We need a large faction in parliament, and then we shall be able to influence the formation of the government. Then, there will be a different Minister of Internal Affairs and a different Security Minister so that you will not be robbed in broad daylight and our wealth will not be taken across open borders.

"When I speak about closing borders who do I mean this should apply to? Only to those who rob us. We and you, Russians, will have total freedom. You will be able to move in any direction, but some sections of the border, say the Caucasus, could be made stronger or even closed. In the Baltics there should be tight customs crossings. At present they are growing rich by stealing our nonferrous metals, timber, and so on. At the same time their living standards are getting worse and worse. They have more and more suicides. In Estonia where Russians are deprived of the electoral rights, where they have no incomes and there are many unemployed, the number of suicides is greater amongst Estonians. That is proof of the viability of the Russian nation, that it is more resilient and that they are not colonizers. In this free Estonia today, the Estonians themselves are doing away with themselves. They cannot stand it; they are ashamed that Estonia and some other independent states are living on the proceeds of robbing and thieving from Russia.

"And only after two and a half years were flimsy customs posts finally put up. And money was spent on this. Our money, from your pockets, pensioners. They should have been made to do this—the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, but borders with Russia are not to their advantage. They benefit from open borders. And why? To steal."

Zhirinovskiy condemns the Civic Union. It appeals for peace, stability and calm, he says, but its leader Volskiy is responsible for the ruin of Russia's industry and bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh. Voters should look at the biography of the candidates before voting, he adds.

Zhirinovskiy then says he will be on the air again tomorrow [24th] and notes that the broadcast times are inconvenient. "After 12th December we shall change all that; the times will be convenient, the programs will be different, the films will be different, but I appeal to you to summon up the courage and patience and help us. Because this appearance today costs R19 million on Friday it cost R13 million. Our party is not connected with the Mafia; we are not the party nomenklatura; we need money. So, please help."

"If, God forbid, you vote again for the Democratic Russia people and the Communists, these two factions will once again be in mortal combat in this new parliament and there will be a crisis once again. What is needed is a third force and that third force is us - the LDPR. We shall stop both of them. When we are there there will be no fisticuffs in the presidium. People like Shabad simply cannot get in there. Everything will run normally."

"If you give about 30 per cent of the votes to the Left, about 30 per cent to Democratic Russia and give us the remaining 30 per cent that will be a good way of sharing it out, a three-party government, a three-faction parliament and I think that we shall enter 1994 calmly and finally end perestroyka. I promise you that we shall announce the end of perestroyka and the end of the reforms which improve our lives. We shall leave in place only those reforms which improve life. Everything that has hampered us, everything that oppresses us, we shall halt all of that. This applies to savings, vouchers, possibilities for accommodation, work, food, medical treatment, but I shall be dealing with those subjects separately in my coming broadcasts. I shall be on the air almost every day either on radio or television."

### Sets Out Policy

*LD2511154093*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 25 November carries a 30-minute election program which begins with a Mayak announcer stating that the next 30 minutes are "entirely under the control of Liberal Democratic Party Chairman Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy."

Zhirinovskiy says he is broadcasting live to give voters a real chance to make a choice among parties. He gives a brief history of the development of his party. He criticizes the nationalist policies of former Soviet republics, with the exception of Russia, and discusses interethnic tensions.

Zhirinovskiy goes on to reiterate claims that his is the only party not led by ex-Communists and therefore the only party that has a clean record. He thanks voters for their signatures and financial support, and criticizes other parties for seeking only personal enrichment. The Liberal Democrats, he said, stand for a decent standard of living for all, but believe that it should be honestly earned.

After equating business people and traders with criminals, Zhirinovskiy says he has made no promises that everyone will get rich if they vote for him, but everyone will have equal opportunities. He goes on to criticize the Soviet habit of making promises and not fulfilling them.

Zhirinovskiy then begins to outline the main points of Liberal Democrat policy. He says: "We are against the restitution of the USSR and against the existence of the current CIS, but we are for the Russian state, democratic, rich, and cultured. We are against there being national republics and regions within the Russian state. We are for there only being territorial units within the Russian state—called oblast or guberniya. This is not our dream or something we have thought up. There is no country in the whole world where within the state there are ethnic divisions into other state units. We are for the economy, but we are against the artificial destruction of the state sector both in the towns and in the country. We are for full freedom for the private sector, but this freedom is for honest citizens, not for those who received money illegally under the communists, laundered it under the democrats, and who want to establish a new fin de siecle elite in Russian society, grabbing the best land, the best houses, hotels, and banks, and artificially dissolving our society. There is no need today to swiftly create a narrow band of rich people and impoverish and render destitute the rest. We support the defense of our industry from foreign competition—it is not ready for this. It is better for us to have more of our own goods, cheaper, and gradually raise their quality through competition and having more and more producers of goods, but if we open up to the West completely now, the West has enough high-quality goods, they can dump them all here, you will not be able to afford them, but at the same time our domestic industry will be buried. In this sense we have to defend our domestic industry of whatever kind, state or private sector—help it with rights and taxes, because we are the only country in the world that suffocates everything with taxes. Up to 80 percent taxes. We would like no more than 40 percent, perhaps even 30, and to release certain areas of activity from taxes, particularly food production and housing construction. Then a housing boom will start; we will settle the housing problem quicker, and we will have no food shortages."

Zhirinovskiy makes further criticisms of current tax policy, and proposes a universal pension and health insurance scheme.

On raising additional funds for social security schemes, Zhirinovskiy says:

"One of the sources is immediately to cease the conversion of military industry. It brings in money—$30 billion a year will come in, and will come in as soon as 1994, if we stop this reform which is ruinous to our economy. Also, we should make sharp changes in our foreign policy. In what sense? The blockade of Iraq. Why are we taking part in this blockade? Iraq is ready to give us 10 billion rubles. Libya is ready to give us 4 billion rubles—I mean dollars—but we are not getting anything because we are taking part in the blockade of these countries." He goes on to say that Russia has lost the use of resorts in the Balkans due to the blockade of the former Yugoslavia.

"So our party, if it becomes the majority party in parliament, and takes part in the formation of the government, will certainly make changes both to internal and foreign policy. This will certainly be done only on economic grounds, only by using internal and international rights, without any violence.

"This Friday there will be a meeting between Boris Nikolayevich and leaders of political parties. Literally tomorrow. I would like in part to explain our views on all these problems to the president. I hope he will understand us correctly, and see the differences between the approaches to settling political problems of different political parties.

"You and I will meet again today on television, on the Ostankino channel at 2015. I invite you all a direct meeting in the flesh, for Muscovites and guests of our city, this Friday at 1400 at Sokolniki metro. So almost every day, on the air either on radio or television, or in the flesh, we will tell you about our party, our program, and our position on all current issues."

Zhirinovskiy concludes by listing currently available Liberal Democrat publications. He gives the address of party headquarters as 103045 Moscow, Rybnikov per.

1—telephone 923 63 70, 921 81 59. He makes a final appeal for votes and a brief commitment to media freedoms.

## Communist Leader Defends Record, Platform

*PM2411102193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 4*

[Account of discussion between Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, and unnamed IZVESTIYA editorial staff, recorded by Valeriy Vyzhutovich, at IZVESTIYA headquarters in Moscow; date not given: "Gennadiy Zyuganov: 'We Will Form a Strong Patriotic Opposition in the New Parliament'"]

[Text] Gennadiy Zyuganov is chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] Central Executive Committee. He was born in 1944 in Orel Oblast. He trained as a mathematician and taught in secondary schools and higher educational establishments. He was first secretary of Orel Oblast Committee of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol]. From 1983 through 1990 he worked in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. After the RSFSR Communist Party was formed in June 1990, he was elected secretary of that party's Central Committee and a member of the Central Committee Politburo. In February 1991 he organized the conference "For a Great and Unified Russia" at which the Patriotic Movements Coordinating Council was founded. In July 1991 he was one of the authors of "A Word to the People," which was published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and became the ideological manifesto of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Since January 1992 G. Zyuganov has been chairman of the Council of the People's Patriotic Forces of Russia. In June 1992 he was also elected cochairman of the Duma of the Russian National Assembly ("Sterligov's party"). In October 1992 he actively participated in the formation of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and became one of its cochairmen. At the suggestion of General Makashov, he was elected chairman of the CPRF Central Executive Committee in February 1993 at an extraordinary congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, which was renamed the CPRF.

Gennadiy Zyuganov demonstrated his understanding of the current political situation and of the election battle in conversation with journalists at IZVESTIYA's editorial office, and shared his views on Russia's future development.

[IZVESTIYA] You stated at one of your pre-election news conferences: "The Federal Assembly is illegal both in the way it came into being and in the procedure by which it is elected." What is making the CPRF and you personally participate in the elections?

[Zyuganov] From our point of view the elections are illegal. However, 85 out of 89 organizations within the CPRF insist on our participating in them. So we have joined the battle for seats. So that we can try to reestablish legality through our participation in the work of the future parliament, and at the same time widen our circle of allies and test out how capable our party cells are. In the space of about three days we managed to collect 187,000 signatures in 78 regions of Russia. Of the people who put their trust in us at this stage of the election campaign, one-third are young people and more than 50 percent are not party members.

[IZVESTIYA] Let us suppose that you succeed in getting as many as 28 seats in the State Duma, as you are hoping to do. Will your faction then implement the same program it followed in the last parliament? Will the ideological and practical reference points of the CPRF, which considers itself the heir of the CPSU, not change?

[Zyuganov] I consider that the CPSU was strictly speaking not a party. It was a government structure built on hierarchical principles. The word of a primary party organization secretary never carried more weight than that of an enterprise leader, which was a favorite theme of socialist realist literature.

I once tried at length to explain to Gorbachev, albeit unsuccessfully, that any state machine has its own regulated mechanism which functions irrespective of any political convictions, ideological direction, and so on that people might have. If you break the rudder, the braking system, the undercarriage, or the control mechanisms, you cannot help having an accident.

Our party does not intend to share the CPSU's fate. It is only one of many parties. It is obliged to prove its advantages by persuasion. We have already published a whole series of documents setting out our program, one of which proclaims among other things: "Early elections to both branches of power provide a peaceful way out of the political crisis." We stand for broad state and democratic priorities.

[IZVESTIYA] The CPRF was registered by the Russian Federation Justice Ministry 24 March 1993. Its stated membership is 500,000. It stands for a social orientation in the reforms, an end to "forced privatization," the combining of various forms of ownership, and the free transfer of land in perpetuity.

A CPRF Central Executive Committee plenum adopted a decision [postanovleniye] 18 September drawing the attention of communists and all Russian citizens to the "impending danger of the ruling anti-people regime's destroying the foundations of the country's statehood." The preservation and strengthening of the state's constitutional institutions, which "serve as an obstacle to the establishment of a monopoly of the power of capital and to the collapse of Russia as a unified multinational power," was proclaimed as one immediate task for the party.

The CPRF leadership's attitude to the president's 21 September edict was expressed in a resolution: "Under the Constitution executive authority passes to A. Rutskoy."

[Zyuganov] We also have our own program of transformations for Russia. We understand that the destatization of property is a necessary process. But it is not possible to carry out "collectivization in reverse." It is not possible to abolish a monopolistic economy quickly without ruining the whole system of production and management at the same time. It is not possible to establish democracy by closing opposition newspapers. You cannot talk about the country's revival when the values established throughout its history and its national icons are being trampled on. We communists have now learned several important things. First: It is necessary in reforms to proceed on the basis of reality; the great variety of life is far richer than any theoretical constructs. Second: It is necessary to restore continuity. Third: Russia cannot exist without a concept of social justice and you cannot sidetrack the Russian conscience with any old vouchers. As the Russians have been their own people in the past, so they still are and will continue to be.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you making this assertion this as former NSF chairman? Or, now that several of that organization's leaders are in Lefortovo, are you no longer associating yourself with the NSF? Do you reject its program and methods of fighting for power?

[Zyuganov] The NSF came into being a year ago in order to oppose the tyranny of presidential rule. More than 40 ideologically disparate organizations joined it. This was a natural outburst by people who joined together to carry out three noble tasks—to maintain the country's territorial integrity, to save the nation's spiritual and scientific-technical potential from destruction, and to revive Russian historical traditions. The CPRF did not, however, join the NSF. True, as one of the leaders of the people's patriotic movement I was elected a cochairman of the NSF. I did everything I could to make that organization as constructive as possible. The Front Political Council adopted no decisions connected with the events of 3-4 October. With regard to the personal conduct of NSF members at that time, each must speak for himself.

[IZVESTIYA] So now you only be willing to answer for your own personal conduct. Yet just recently you were speaking on behalf of the NSF as one of its leaders. Answer me straight: Are you or are you not responsible for the activities of the nationalist organization which you led? Are you or are you not responsible for the activities of the CPRF, whose leaders called in PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for the overthrow of the lawful authorities?

[Zyuganov] I do not believe that there is a single person in this room who was not in the CPSU in the past. There are likewise no such people in the present Russian leadership, even in the camp of the president's major supporters where, it seems, only Gleb Yakunin did not possess a party card. Yet more than half of my present entourage are not communists and never have been. So let us not keep playing... the same old disk. As far as the NSF is concerned, there are no documents in existence which call for the overthrow by force of the state system. As far as the overthrow by force of the lawful parliament is concerned, I saw with my own eyes, as did the whole world. I saw tanks fire high-explosive shells. They were fired not just at the Constitution, at the law, but at Russia. All this was necessary for the president in order to smear the Army with the blood of the unrighteous, to perform an act of psychological deterrence against dissidents.... It was a premeditated, carefully planned provocation.

[IZVESTIYA] On whose part? Who was it who attacked City Hall, who stormed "Ostankino," and who called for the Kremlin's seizure 3 October? Did you not prepare your party members for such actions? After all, it was precisely at the congress to reestablish the CPRF in February of this year that the following words resounded from the podium and were given an ovation: "Communists should possess everything from the weapons of thought and expression to weapons which actually fire." Incidentally, what do you think about the large quantities of weapons which were delivered to the White House on the eve of the events in October? For what purpose, in your opinion, were they put in store there?

[Zyuganov] You know, ...even at the Prosecutor's Office they talked to me in a more benevolent tone. To tell you the truth, I am disheartened. I have come to the editorial office of a newspaper I have read for many years, and feel as though I am taking part in some inquisitorial experiment. If you are interested in my views on this or that political question, I am ready to explain it, but let us talk in a calm manner.

[IZVESTIYA] OK. How do you see the future parliament?

[Zyuganov] If a certain number of pragmatists and realists who are capable of ruling in a responsible and competent way get onto each list of candidates for parliament, then the elections will not be held in vain. Especially if that one-third of Russians who said "no" to the president's and the government's policies in the referendum turn out, together with the one-third who did not take part in the April poll. If these things happen, we will get the kind of parliament that Russia needs. It will be a stable body, capable of resolving many of Russia's problems in a measured manner.

The State Duma is most likely to be dominated by a bloc supporting the present executive branch of power. But the centrists and the people's patriotic forces will also be solidly represented. I think, however, that the more important thing for the president at the moment is the adoption of the new Constitution. An attempt is being made to "push it through" in the space of a single month and, if that is successful, parliament will have very limited powers. It only takes such a parliament to show disobedience for it to enjoy the same fate as the former

Supreme Soviet. This is despite the fact that almost all the parties participating in the elections are critical of the present political course. Many of them have even taken up the vocabulary of the people's patriotic movement, to which they have not previously resorted.

[IZVESTIYA] In that case you should admit that the democratic process is developing successfully, if the opposition, including the communists, have the opportunity to actually influence policy. Won't the opportunity increase after the elections?

[Zyuganov] Sure. By participating in the political process, we will attempt to return the country and its leadership to a lawful course, however much we may be impeded. That is why we are not boycotting the elections but are going to participate in them with our own program.

[IZVESTIYA] Here is an extract from the CPRF election program:
"We will reestablish civil peace and legality and return the country to a civilized path of development;
"We will refrain from 'shock therapy' and use state regulation to halt the fall in production and combat inflation and unemployment;
"We will adopt extraordinary measures to combat crime, speculation, and corruption and stop further plunder of the country's natural, technological, and intellectual resources;
"We will restore the population's living standards and guarantee working people the right to free education and medical treatment, social security, cheap housing, public transport and so on;
"We will provide a mixed economy, with ownership by all the people playing the leading role;
"We will pursue a foreign policy which is in the country's national interests and which guarantees its security;
"We will make people's power the source and guarantee of the unity of all three branches of power;
"We will strive to restore the union state on a new, voluntary basis..."

You recently stated that you are also counting on cooperating with "the more flexible members of Democratic Russia." You singled out Sergey Shakhray as one such member, announcing that according to your information he will "certainly seek an alliance with the CPRF." Has Shakhray already suggested that you cooperate? If so, did the proposal come from him personally? Or was a sign given through one of the regional leaders supporting Shakhray and his party?

[Zyuganov] You have a first-class way of putting questions! You ask them, and then you answer them as well!

[IZVESTIYA] On the contrary, we are trying to get an answer out of you, but you seem to be trying to avoid giving one.

[Zyuganov] I repeat once more: We are prepared to cooperate with all constructive forces. Those who win will be those who can find the maximum number of friends and allies. As far as Shakhray himself is concerned, I have met with him twice. I found that he understands what is most important: The country must be preserved from civil war. Our last meeting took place a month ago at a conference of Federation components. We did not discuss joint actions in the election contest. But I am not ruling out the possibility that Shakhray, whose watchwords are Russian unity and reliance on the provinces, will attempt to establish contact with realistic left-wing politicians as well.

[IZVESTIYA] The election period is a time of promises. It looks as if the communists are again getting an opportunity to advance outwardly attractive slogans. But when reading your election program's economic section I get no impression of the mechanisms by which it will be put into effect. So what are they?

[Zyuganov] Indeed, we have had enough promises. I have heard 15 or 17 programs from Yeltsin. What is more I would support several of his first speeches even now, but they have sunk without trace. You can make promises if you have a concept of the country's national [natsionalnyy] and state development. But the president does not possess such a concept. For our part we also cannot promise anything. Not so long ago, when the CPSU ruled the state, it assumed the role of chief political strategist. If "Russia's Choice" is claiming the role of the governing party, it is obliged to guarantee that high-class professionals get into management, and to create for them the necessary legislative base and a favorable political atmosphere.

[IZVESTIYA] The CPRF electoral list is headed by: Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the party's Central Executive Committee; Vitaliy Sevostyanov, cosmonaut; Viktor Ilyukhin, former prosecutor with responsibility for KGB oversight, NSF activist, and PRAVDA political observer; Anatoliy Lukyanov, former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a defendant in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency; Valentin Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; Gennadiy Seleznev, former chief editor of PRAVDA; Viktor Zorkaltsev, former first secretary of Tomsk CPSU Oblast Committee; Yuriy Ivanov, lawyer; Vladimir Semago, entrepreneur...

The CPRF intends to cooperate with the Russian Agrarian Party and S. Baburin's Russian All-National Union during the election campaign.

[Zyuganov] The communists have their own economic program. It has been discussed twice at scientific-practical conferences. We even put it forward at one of the "roundtables" in which leaders of various parties and movements participated. This program is attractive in many respects. It takes Russia's historical tradition into consideration, according to which the state has always played a very great part in the life of society. Remember Stolypin. He provided the peasants with the kind of state support that today's private farmers cannot even dream of. If the communist faction is represented in the future parliament, I am sure that our analytical centers will supply major blueprints for many economic projects. We have to discover the optimum proportions between the state and private sectors. The state is obliged to exercise control over transport, power generation, and the defense industry and to support fundamental science and culture... Whereas a lot of other spheres can be developed by private, entrepreneurial structures.

[IZVESTIYA] Can you be a little more specific? How, in your opinion, should the military-industrial complex develop in the future?

[Zyuganov] I am convinced that powerful intellects, the best technology, equipment and machine tools, and scientific-technical base, and the best organized collectives should be concentrated in the military-industrial complex. Whether certain people like it or not. In any event the present course which is steering us toward the collapse of the country's defense might is no longer tolerable. Russia has been sidelined as a raw-materials appendage. Why was economic intelligence removed from the KGB's structure? It was the best service in the world and possessed an enormous data base...

[IZVESTIYA] Does the 1993-model Zyuganov differ from the Zyuganov of, say, the perestroyka period?

[Zyuganov] I am evolving, naturally. I was more dogmatic before, and now I am more loyal. But I have always had respect for other people's opinions. I have never punished individual members of the apparatus for thinking differently from me. I too am a person with doubts. I have a mathematical and philosophical training, so I never take anything on trust—I try to study and research everything.

[IZVESTIYA] Today countries in Europe, Asia, and many [as published] other continents have opted for the democratic path, and each one is flourishing in its own way. Whereas a communist regime has yet to benefit anyone anywhere. In the face of this experience from around the world, you are still insisting on the advantages of socialism; do you believe in them?

[Zyuganov] This is one of the most difficult questions for me. I have to answer it for myself first and foremost. The greatest minds on the planet recently adopted a document on interstate justice. They agreed that there could not not be prosperity in Europe while Africa suffered poverty and death. The balance of the "man-society-nature" system had been severely disturbed. It could be restored if the ideals of fraternity and justice were unswervingly pursued. We communists have chosen this route and will not deviate from it.

## Parties, Movements Outline Programs

*LD2511201993*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 24 November 1993 broadcasts a party political broadcast allocated to Russia's Choice and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms was represented by Sergey Stupar, employee of the president's administration and journalist, Professor Aleksandr Braginskiy, deputy prime minister of the Moscow government and constitutional expert Ilya Roytman.

All three representatives of the movement talked in very general terms about their program and vaguely criticized other electoral blocs. When Braginskiy was asked why he was standing for the duma, he said he wanted to have a say in the law-making process.

Roytman said that one of the main characteristics of the movement was that, unlike some other electoral blocs, it supported the draft constitution.

The Russia's Choice bloc was represented by academician Pavel Bunich and journalist Marina Nekrasova. They began with some general remarks about the goals of their electoral bloc and criticized other blocs for using dubious methods in their campaign.

Bunich went on to say that free privatization was the best way to ensure the welfare of the people. He says: "We believe that free privatization is undoubtedly justified. If we made some mistakes, we think that it is better to have a flawed free privatization than a flawless one, when you sell everything to the rich but leave the rest without a penny." He then says that land privatization is equally important because "private ownership of the land and free privatization of property are the main wealth of the people."

The second social policy of the Russia's Choice bloc is assistance to low-income groups of the population. Bunich says: "We do not give empty promises. This is a real promise. We will give low interest rate credit for housing. Like this, the poorest will get it for free, while others will have to pay."

He then adds that Russia's Choice is seriously concerned about unemployment. He says: "We have to devise a country-wide employment program and use various means and sources. We will stimulate job creation and use various resources available to the state and the government. We will have to prepare social conditions and housing before any reshuffling, otherwise we will not achieve a structural and territorial reallocation of industrial resources."

Speaking about the problem of hyperinflation Bunich says: "For us the social aspect of reform is more important than the monetary one. The supreme principle of reform is to ensure the social guarantees and rights of the population."

Both Pavel Bunich and Marina Nekrasova continue to talk about their aims in general terms and say that although the bloc was supporting the president, it was by no means a presidential party. Bunich concludes: "We are a party of normal, healthy people, neither excited, nor overexcited."

## 'Election Hour' Program With Volskiy for Civic Union

*LD2411192493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1645 GMT 23 Nov 93*

["Election Hour" program, with presentation by Arkadiy Volskiy on behalf of the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress election bloc; other studio guests are film director Vladimir Menshov and journalist and former presidential press secretary Pavel Voshchanov]

[Excerpts] [Volskiy] Good evening, dear voters, this evening you are meeting with the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress. As you know, we have taken the line of not talking every time about our programs and objectives, we are worried that you are all already confused because there is a lot of common ground, a lot that is identical in a number of the blocs and their programs. So we have taken the line of acquainting you with as many deputies as possible. Also, we have agreed that we are going to have a professional parliament, and so there have to be professionals working in the parliament, and every time, as you will recall, we have shown you people who are professionals in their field.

I addressed you at the outset with the traditional greeting: good evening, but if you think about it, it is less and less often that we have any grounds for assessing the past day as good. It is with regrettable haste that warmth, friendly relations, selflessness, and humanity are disappearing from our lives - kindness is disappearing. [passage omitted]

[Voshchanov] Many of my colleagues are a bit perplexed by my choice - how did I suddenly end up in the Civic Union bloc? And over the last three or four days I have heard this reproach - what are you doing with these conservatives?

[Volskiy] And I am asked, what are you doing with Voshchanov?

[Voshchanov] Well Arkadiy Ivanovich, you see we are getting the same flak because of this! I think that conservatism, in the good sense of the word, is what Russia needs at present. If a year passes without the routine storming of the White House, which has become a tradition, and that is conservatism, then I am for that kind of conservatism. If Russia's powerful industrial potential is to be preserved, which feeds, waters, and clothes us, and if that is conservatism, then I am for that kind of conservatism. I have now made my choice and joined those people, thanks to whom, I believe, bread is still being baked, trains are running, and our homes are being heated. Because everything new that has been created over the last two years, the free market, is still just a kind of nice garnish for the main dish, but we have immense problems with the main dish.

And there is another point I wanted to tell you about, why I am in this bloc, and will remain with it to the end. That is the fact that it has united people of very, very different kinds. A few days ago we were recalling, Arkadiy Ivanovich, how I had written critical articles ...

[Volskiy, interrupting] Yes, against me.

[Voshchanov] Against you, yes, I do not think it gave you very much pleasure.

[Volskiy] No, it did not, but my back's broad!

[Voshchanov] Maybe you have also said such words against me in private?

[Volskiy] Very soft ones.

[Voshchanov] Really? Thank you! Even if we started talking today about some serious political problems, I think that certain differences in our stances would emerge, but the fact that we have found it possible to unite in something very important, really essential, that is a special feature of this bloc - the special feature of finding unity in diversity. It seems to me this is very valuable. [passage omitted]

Why did I leave such a high post? You know, this is what has been pursuing me for the past two years. It seems to me that when I die they will write on my tomb: former press secretary of the president of the Russian Federation who voluntarily gave up the post. This question pursues me, but as it has been put, I will try to explain it to you literally in a couple of words, without going into any details. When I went there, I thought I was going there as a companion-in-arms who was going to fight for an idea, together.

Once I had a look around and found my feet, I realized that I was not a companion in arms at all, I was just a slave for a wilfull master. Whoever wants to can come to terms with that condition, let him carry on serving. But I went there for a certain idea, and I did not find that idea there. It was not there. One thing was proclaimed, but something different was done. Everyone must decide for himself. If anyone likes such a split soul, fine, but it did not suit me.

[Program interrupted for political advertisement. Video shows child on Red Square as narrator says: Civic Union has already lifted Russia out of troubled times on one occasion. The Civic Union for Stability, Justice and Progress!] [passage omitted]

[Voshchanov] I remember after the October events, one very well known Russian journalist said, speaking on television: Crush the vermin. If you want to live well, crush the vermin.

It seems to me that the tragedy of today, and the fault of the current political elite, lies in the fact that they have forced society to gain pleasure from a feeling of civil war.

[Volskiy] That is the most terrible thing; you are right.

[Voshchanov] It is the most terrible thing that has happened in recent times. But society has, in general terms, gotten confused in the political promises given to them by the current authorities, the current regime. And you get the impression that giving promises is always linked not to the problem but to the political situation. [passage omitted] Lack of clarity, lack of any line, undermines trust in authority, it undermines trust in this regime, in these leaders, in these Russian politicians, and it seems to me that it is this that at present is just alienating people, but who they will latch on to: that is still a big question.

[Volskiy] It depends on the voters, they have to make a decisive contribution to this. If they want order in the country, order on the streets, order at the workplace, order in the country, they have to make the appropriate choice. We do not have a single member of the government in our bloc, as distinct from the other blocs; I think, Travkin [Democratic Party of Russia leader] does not have any either, but I have to say that we have people who can work, we know how to work, we know what to do. [passage omitted]

## Democratic Party, Charity Bloc on 'Voter's Hour'

*LD2411210893*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 24 November carries the "Voter's Hour" program, featuring the Democratic Party of Russia and the Dignity and Charity association, each of which has a 30-minute presentation.

The program opens with film director Stanislav Govorukhin, one of the leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia, saying that the forthcoming elections are likely to be a travesty of free elections and that many members of the new parliament will probably be communists. He adds that the present authorities are reluctant to fight crime in the country and that they enjoy extensive support from criminal elements and dishonest entrepreneurs. A five-minute excerpt from a documentary by Govorukhin is shown as an illustration of this. It depicts the squandering and theft of strategic resources in Russia.

Next, Govorukhin speaks about the deterioration of moral standards in Russian society, which he says came to a head during the attempted coup of October 1993. A further 10-minute excerpt from his film is shown, where Govorukhin called the October events an apotheosis of immorality. The film includes an interview with Oleg Rumyantsev, a prominent member of the disbanded Supreme Soviet, who describes the cruel treatment by the government troops of the captured defenders of the parliament building. Govorukhin says the government is concealing the real number of casualties.

Govorukhin goes on to say that he will vote against the new draft constitution, saying it is a bloody constitution which has already cost many people their lives. He notes that, according to the constitution, the president is the only guarantor of human rights and President Yeltsin cannot be trusted in this respect.

Next, the Dignity and Charity association starts its presentation with a two-minute advertisement, after which the association's two co-chairmen, Vyacheslav Grishin and Aleksandr Lomakin, are interviewed in the studio. Grishin currently heads the organization of the victims of nuclear disasters in Russia and Lomakin chairs the Russian Society of Invalids. They both make the point that their program is mainly orientated toward better social protection for the vulnerable groups of the population. They stress that they have no party political interests of their own because they are dealing exclusively with humanitarian issues, but in order to achieve its aims their association will have to get involved in political life and gain some influence. They say they will strive to provide an ethical underpinning for the state's economic and social policy and will concentrate their efforts on ecological issues, reducing unemployment, protecting the incomes of retired people, and helping disabled people to integrate into society.

They also say they regard no one in particular as their political opponent but are willing to cooperate with a broad range of politicians to tackle the economic and social problems confronting Russia.

## 'Future of Russia-New Names' Bloc Election Program

*LD2511110593*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 24 November carries a 10-minute election broadcast on behalf of the Future of Russia—New Names electoral bloc. The program is presented by Vladimir Zharikhin, one of the bloc's leaders, and Aleksandr Kerimov, a candidate of juridical science, engaged on the problems of constitutional legislation.

Zharikhin begins by stating that new people and new politicians are needed to stabilize the situation in Russia. He says that the bloc's supporters include Anatoliy Bychkov, a construction entrepreneur; Viktor Yelfimov, a gas industry executive; and Vladimir Mironov, a political scientist.

Kerimov goes on to speak about the bloc's program. Stressing that the bloc's priority would be the social sphere, he says: "The fact is that we fundamentally disagree with the ultra-liberal conception of society's development which has prevailed in our country over the past few years. This has resulted in a state of affairs where a vast mass of people find themselves effectively life's cast-offs. Many people in our country, as you know, have been brought to the verge of poverty and many of them to beyond the poverty mark. We are convinced that the state should concern itself with protecting those people who are unable for objective reasons—and I emphasize for objective reasons and not because they are poor workers or for some other reasons—unable quickly and painlessly to adapt to the new social conditions."

Kerimov continues: "Naturally the question arises of where we will get the money for the development of the social sphere, particularly since at present the power structures are intensively propagating the idea that the state does not have the money. This is not true. Our principled position is as follows. We consider that as soon as production begins functioning there will also be money available for social requirements. In order to get production functioning it is essential radically to change taxation policy—create a new taxation system so that it is advantageous for people to produce rather than engage in effect in speculation. We reckon that it is necessary to substantially reduce the state apparatus. It is a striking fact that Russia's state apparatus is now larger than in the former Soviet Union." Zharikhin points out that the state apparatus is now three times as large as in the former Soviet Union.

Kerimov ends by stressing the need to encourage investment in industry: "We consider it essential to create privileged conditions for investment in industry; that is to say, to create a privileged taxation system for people investing in industry. This investment might be both domestic and foreign."

Zharikhin rounds off the broadcast by urging viewers to vote for the Future of Russia—New Names bloc.

## Economic Issues

### Yeltsin, Luzhkov Discuss Moscow Privatization

*LD2411141293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1158 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Nov—It has been learned from reliable sources that privatization issues, particularly privatization as implemented in Moscow, were discussed during today's meeting between the Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The capital's mayor voiced his concern over the policy being pursued by the State Committee for Managing State Property with respect to the removal of state control over property in the capital.

A letter which was also presented to the Russian president by Yuriy Luzhkov states that property in Russia is at present being sold off very cheaply. According to expert assessments, Russia could earn at least 250 trillion rubles from privatization and thus maintain the fight against inflation and the financing of top-priority state programs for several years. However, according to the program being implemented by Anatoliy Chubays [head of the State Committee for Management of State Property], the state should receive only 300 billion rubles in cash, and 1.5 trillion rubles from implementation of the program as a whole. The mayor of Moscow believes that there is a dangerous process underway, whereby enterprises engaged in municipal services, trade, and the servicing of foreign capital are being bought up dirt cheap.

It has become known from a reliable source that Boris Yeltsin has instructed Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov to prepare a draft decree of the president of the Russian Federation on specific features of privatization in the Russian capital.

### Yeltsin Issues Edict on Transfer of Privatization Checks

*LD2511165993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict on using privatization checks as payments in the process of privatization. The president's press service says the edict makes provision for a number of measures to be implemented to regulate the use of these checks as payments and to guarantee the rights of those taking part in specialized check auctions. The same edict confirms the position concerning the handing over and use of certificates on the depositing of privatization checks.

### Central Bank Chief Denies Plan To Resign

*LD2511133593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1318 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Central Bank Viktor Gerashchenko rejected rumours that he might resign in December for health reasons, but admitted that the new parliament may decide to replace him.

"The new Russian parliament will appoint a new government and it is quite possible that it would like to have new heads of federal departments", he told TASS on Thursday [25 November].

Gerashchenko said he is not going to resign from the post himself and rejected rumours about his poor health.

"I had only two sick leaves in my life", he said.

Asked whether he is tired of heading the Central Bank, Gerashchenko smiled in response: "I can tolerate it".

## Fedorov Outlines Principles of 'Financial Constitution'

*PM2411135793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 93 First Edition p 5*

[Article by Russian Federation Finance Minister Boris Fedorov: "A 'Financial Constitution' For Russia"]

[Text] At a time when everybody is discussing the forthcoming election and the referendum on the Constitution, it would be appropriate to recall the fundamental provisions of financial policy which, in the grand scheme of things, are far more important than a discussion on the participation or nonparticipation of ministers in parliament (although, in my view, legitimized [legitmnyy] ministers will obstruct neither the government nor parliament.)

It is a question of codifying the simplest principles and provisions which could, in theory, be called a "Financial Constitution." All these principles have been tried and tested in dozens of countries in the world, and it would be useful for us in Russia to make use of this centuries-old wisdom. Without it, we will never reach real financial stability and simple order within the economy.

The First Principle: The Central Bank is independent of both government and parliament alike; its main task is to maintain the stability of the national currency and price levels. These would seem to be obvious things, already enshrined to some degree in the law. However, as yet our country has no genuine monetary and credit policy, and the Central Bank is prepared to discuss anything but the fight against inflation.

At the same time, the independence of the Central Bank should include the principle of the irremovability of its leader for a fixed term provided he is performing his main task as indicated above. The Central Bank's leader should not receive or request any instructions whatsoever from government and parliament on matters within the framework of his competence, including through the direct telephone links inherited from the USSR State Bank.

The Second Principle: The government is not entitled to obtain credit from the Central Bank, and it is bound to cover the budget deficit exclusively by means of loans from nonfinancial institutions and the population in the form of securities or other such instruments. In turn, the Central Bank does not have the right to issue credits to nonfinancial institutions and grant targeted or sectoral credits, nor is it entitled to purchase federal or local government securities directly from these organs.

Here, everything is obvious—the size of the deficit should be determined by the confidence of the population and companies in the government in question. If securities are purchased, this is a sign of confidence; if they are not, this is a signal to cut the deficit. If the Central Bank covers the deficit by means of "credit" (that is, emissions), this means stimulating inflation and the collapse of the economy.

The Third Principle: Any decisions on expenditure over and above the ratified budget may be adopted only after seeking a source [of finance] or a cut in other expenditure beforehand.

Everybody understands in their day-to-day life that if there is no money in the pocket, and if nobody is going to give any credit, the planned purchase has to be postponed. Everybody in public life in our country is very kind, spending money they do not have. And if money is conjured up out of thin air while the volume of goods remains the same, then, naturally, prices will rise and people who have earned money through labor or by selling their own commodities will be robbed. This kind of ruinous practise is extremely dangerous and diametrically opposite to the national interest.

A very minor adjustment is needed: Before spending or promising money, cut other expenditure, introduce a new tax, sell something, or simply suppress the urge. Only do not deceive people.

The Fourth Principle: Parliament can accept or decline budget expenditures submitted by the government, but it does not have the right to initiate expenditure. In our country, dozens of laws and decisions, which are impossible to implement without ruining the state, have already been adopted.

It is annoying to hear it said on television: "The Ministry of Finance is not implementing the law on supporting northerners (or on grain, on servicemen, or whatever) and other government promises." First, the government does not adopt laws. Second, the Ministry of Finance is not an evil old man who hoards money and gives nothing to anybody—there is simply no money available. Third, many laws (just like edicts and decrees) are simply impossible to implement, they have not been properly costed and are unsubstantiated.

The former Supreme Soviet tried with enviable persistence to undermine the executive, itself wanting to hand out, to distribute, and to give credit. This is a clear violation of the principle of the separation of powers. Indeed, the government has made and continues to make a lot of errors, but there should only be one person in the country with ultimate responsibility, so as to know whom to call to account. Arguments like "We will promulgate a law, and let them try not to implement it" are unacceptable in a civilized state.

I propose that all parties and movement, all candidate members of the State Duma who hold Russia's interests dear, support the aforementioned provisions, which have stood the test of life, and include them in their election programs. Then we can at last look forward to a time when everything contained in the budget will be implemented, and the skyrocketing of store prices will be halted.

## Military Issues

### Paper on Rumors of Grachev's Imminent Ouster

*PM2511113793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 2*

[Igor Chernyak "Military Review": "They Don't Change Horses and Generals in Midstream"]

[Text] Despite Boris Yeltsin's recent statement that Pavel Grachev is a "strong minister, has done a good job, is doing a good job, and will continue to do a good job," rumors of Grachev's possible dismissal continue to appear in the press. They have been fed by an interview the Russian president gave to Eldar Ryazanov, in which Boris Yeltsin admitted for the first time that on 3-4 October he had no confidence in the army, that the Russian Defense Ministry leadership was slow to act, and the defense minister, in the president's opinion, could have acted more autonomously (admittedly, the last remark was a strange one to hear from the supreme commander in chief). Increasingly often there are information "leaks" to the effect that the president's entourage and especially the government are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the defense minister and that, after the 12 December elections, his days are numbered.

There are a number of contenders for the defense minister's post. The names that are mentioned most are those of Grachev's deputies, General Boris Gromov and General Konstantin Kobets. However, experts at the military department and sources in the Kremlin offices do not view either man as a serious contender. The general characterizations of the two men are as follows: the former is "largely a media creation designed by journalists for the radical democrats who want as minister a 'reliable' supporter hardly different from Grachev"; the latter is a "communications specialist with no experience of work with large groupings of forces and no prestige among the forces, a factor of no small importance, and furthermore a man who was involved in the 'Yakubovskiy affair'." There are equally skeptical views of Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov—comments ranging from "never make the same mistake twice" to "the wreckers have had their day"—and of Andrey Kokoshin—"did not live up the hopes placed on him."

More serious contenders are Yuriy Ryzhov, currently the Russian Federation ambassador to France, a product of the aviation industry—which is close to the military-industrial complex—and a man of democratic convictions, and Admiral Kasatonov, deputy commander in chief of the Navy and a former commander of the Black Sea Fleet. According to certain information, the supporters of the democratic bloc have nothing against these men either. However, even here it is not all plain sailing: The former has a poor knowledge of the army's real problems and does he, anyway, want to leave Paris; while the latter is a "sailor pure and simple," and navy men have never headed the Russian armed forces. Furthermore, it is a very long way from being deputy commander in chief of a branch of the forces to defense minister.

It should be noted that a number of specialists at the Defense Ministry and the General Staff are pointing out that Pavel Grachev has "grown into the job" during his period as defense minister and are saying that "you shouldn't change horses in midstream." Generally speaking, that is not without sense.

Since the "Military Review" rubric was launched in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, we have received letters and phone calls from officers who, while asking not to be named, describe facts which, to put it mildly, do not flatter the military department. While not rejecting such contacts in principle we feel it necessary to say that the editorial office is interested first and foremost in an objective coverage of events connected one way or another with the army and the navy.

The appearance of this rubric did not go unnoticed at the Russian Federation Defense Ministry either. For example, on 17 November our correspondent was invited to a briefing by the first deputy chief of the General Staff marking the anniversary of the beginning of the implementation of the CFE Treaty. However, that evening the editorial office received a phone call from an officer of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's Information and Press Directorate who in an apologetic tone conveyed his leadership's message: "I have been instructed to inform you that you have been crossed off the list."

The fact that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's journalists are now unwelcome at the Russian Federation Defense Ministry raises a number of questions. First, are "briefings for the chosen few" an innovation created by the military department in the era of glasnost? If so, whose idea was this? And what secrets are the military trying to hide in this way, given that the reductions in numbers of armed forces have been written about several times by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in reports complete with maps and diagrams, things which the whole world knows about anyway? Of course, neither the editorial office nor the readers will suffer from the fact that the number of Russian tanks due to be scrapped in the Caucasus will not be published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, but what does the Defense Ministry stand to gain from that?

Second, on what grounds does the military department divide journalists into the welcome and the unwelcome, taking some on foreign trips while not even allowing others to cross the threshold? We are not, of course, asking for trips to the United States or Germany paid for from the military's meager kitty, and morally speaking we are not prepared to wax lyrical over these visits, but according to the Law on the Press we have every right to free information from briefings and news conferences.

As for the matter of money, the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's Information and Press Directorate still employs officers whose names are entered in the famous "White Book"—the list compiled by foreign correspondents of Moscow functionaries who have distinguished themselves by their active extortion of hard currency for information given to the press. Is the order to "bar KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" an attempt to revive a tradition?

One final point. At a recent news conference the Russian Defense Minister made a special case of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by ordering his aides to "invite the newspaper's correspondents more often." Pavel Grachev himself soon set an example here—the editorial office is grateful to the army general for his exclusive interviews since the 3-4 October events. But what kind of system do they have in the military department if any functionary in uniform imagines himself more important than the minister and thinks he can disregard the minister's orders?

## Deputy Defense Minister on Military Doctrine

*LD2611101593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Interview with Andrey Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, by an unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] First, is this military doctrine not a document for the transitional period, since it states that ensuring Russia's military security depends also on the successful implementation of reforms?

[Kokoshin] It is possible, in principal, to answer this affirmatively and say that this is, of course, a document for the transitional period, although I think that a whole number of provisions contained in it will outlive this period.

[Correspondent] Russia is for the first time not ruling out the first use of nuclear weapons.

[Kokoshin] You know, it has been stated in our country that these weapons are, first and foremost, a political weapon and, first and foremost, a means of averting war and a deterrent. However, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the formulations in our country regarding the role of nuclear weapons and their use are now, in general, roughly similar to what exists in the United States. In no way can the new formulation be regarded as a heightening, say, in Russia's level of aggressiveness in this respect.

[Correspondent] The term military-industrial complex, so familiar to all of us, is missing from the doctrine. A new term, defense industrial potential, has appeared.

[Kokoshin] The appearance of this term is no accident. The fact is that the traditional defense complex now virtually does not exist. The proportion of civilian products being manufactured is, according to the official statistics of the former enterprises of the military-industrial complex, around 80 percent and over. It is a matter of making extensive use of practically everything there is in Russia in the interests of defense. This is what has given rise to the defense industrial potential concept.

[Correspondent] An almost sensational step is the competitive base of the system for orders and the development and production of military equipment.

[Kokoshin] New forms of ownership are appearing in our country, and really a whole number of enterprises fulfilling state defense orders are no longer purely state enterprises. This provision reflects the new reality that exists in our country.

## Military Doctrine Seen Increasing Army's Clout

*MK2411131093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 48, 24-30 Nov 93 (Signed to press 23 Nov) p 1*

[Report by Aleksandr Mnatsakyan under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Again From the Taiga to the British Seas..."]

[Text] There must be a great art to adopting important documents on time. For instance, approving a military doctrine in the absence of constitutional supervision, a constitution, and a representative branch. Although the president has announced his intention to show it to the future Federal Assembly, this does not amount to a guarantee to make substantial amendments. All the more so because the army is already opposed to any such change: suffice it to recall Pavel Grachev's joke, dropped with a soldier's elegance, about the possibility "to correct the parliament" if the latter attempts to correct the doctrine.

Basically, this statement is in line with the spirit, if not the letter of the military doctrine. The idea of "vital interests of the Russian Federation" runs all through it. This in itself would have been just great, had it not been for the term's ambiguity. It could be applied to anything, from a simple protest to armed intervention. What is particularly pleasing is the possibility to use the army to resolve the state's internal problems. For instance, it allows to call upon certain formations of the Armed Forces to provide assistance to internal affairs agencies. Provided that the stated sources of military threat include "increase in organized crime, smuggling on a scale threatening the security of citizens and society," and also illicit drugs trafficking. I wonder whether there can be a situation where crime does not threaten security?

Seen against this background, the intentions to meet the domestic Armed Forces' requirements taking into account the state's scientific-technical and economic capabilities appear all the more strange. As the saying goes, 'tis hard to credit now, though fresh is its renown...' Weapons in one's hands somehow do not dispose one to think about sparing the taxpayers' purses; on the contrary, they accentuate the desire to grab more for oneself. Meanwhile, the stated main objective of logistic support—to equip the troops "with weapons systems, military and specialized hardware, and property in quantities necessary and sufficient for guaranteed defense"—is already closer to the truth.

Generally speaking, what we got instead of democratic reform in the army, which we were promised three years ago, is an imperial doctrine. It provides for the possibility to set up military bases on the territory of other states, to involve the Russian Armed Forces in other states' wars, to intervene into other states' affairs. Furthermore, a provision whereby Russia was not to be the first to use nuclear weapons disappeared from the doctrine. That is, it merely states conditions under which we will not employ our nuclear arsenal. Should they be violated, however, Russia will give no guarantees.

In a word, despite lengthy mantras against the army's involvement in political processes, despite the doctrine's stated inadmissibility of using the army "in the interests of individual groups of people, parties, and public organizations," the army has effectively been given an indirect opportunity to influence the life of society.

## Further on Doctrine

*PM2411160993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 93 First Edition p 9*

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Military Doctrine in Political Context"]

[Text] After the adoption of the Russian Federation military doctrine 2 November we learned of its content only from the relatively fragmentary statements of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. Now an extensive account of the main provisions in IZVESTIYA 18 November provides a pretext for returning to the doctrine itself and to Western responses to it, of which there are more than there are Russian responses, and also to raise several questions.

Russia, in contrast to the USSR, does not rule out first use of nuclear weapons—it was to this that the West primarily drew attention. And it saw in this a normal stance similar to the U.S. stance. In other words, the West still has its old conviction that the former, Soviet, Moscow was merely pursuing propaganda aims by insisting that the USSR and the United States renounce first use of nuclear weapons.

Western analysts as a whole have found a predominance of positive elements in the new doctrine. As REUTER reported from Brussels, NATO sources have included as positive elements its defensive nature, the absence of a definition of the main enemy, and Russia's intention to take part in international peace-keeping operations.

At the same time they discerned in the doctrine the "self-assertion of the Russian Army" (the U.S. WALL STREET JOURNAL). As the French newspaper LE MONDE put it, "the Soviet Army, having become the Russian Army, still remains quite Red." LE MONDE indeed adds that this impressive military machine is not changing its traditions or strategic aims that rapidly despite the cataclysms which it has experienced in recent years.

The doctrine was adopted a month after the October events, which inevitably places it in a specific political context. The military was on the side of the president against parliament and summed up in its own way the results of the political battle which developed into an exchange of fire. Since then the Russian military has landed at the Georgian port of Poti and again decisively influenced the outcome of the struggle—albeit the interim struggle—between Shevardnadze and Gamsakhurdia. The military is also ensuring the present balance in Tajikistan, where the authorities can hardly hold out using their own forces. The minister goes against the Russian military or at any rate verbally contradicts the president by stating that the troops will be withdrawn from Estonia and Latvia not when agreed but if the civil rights of these two states' Russian inhabitants are observed.

All this is forcing Western politicians and political scientists to link at least two new questions to the new doctrine: Where are Russia's Borders? And who determines Russia's foreign policy—Boris Yeltsin or the military?

The serious British journal THE ECONOMIST has its own answer to these questions: "Russia does not have one but two foreign policies. One is pursued by the civilians, the other by the armed forces. The reason for the military's participation is entirely obvious. The three foreign policy problems which Russia is encountering—the desire of the former Warsaw Pact members to join NATO, the need to persuade Ukraine to renounce its nuclear weapons, and the development of relations with the other former Soviet republics—have an underlying military subtext. In addition the Defense Ministry believes that its role in suppressing the 4 October armed rebellion gives it the right to determine Russia's policy on these issues."

However, the journal adds: "It is by no means as clear who is pursuing this policy."

In actual fact a clear demarcation cannot always be detected between the military and the diplomats on these issues. Sometimes however, a demarcation suddenly arises between the president and the foreign minister, who is as loyal to him as it is possible to be. When visiting Warsaw Yeltsin does not object to Poland joining NATO but Kozyrev, with a gesture of horror, begins to object and changes the president's mind and prompts his counterpart Christopher to cool the East Europeans' NATO ardor, offering them the interim option of a "partnership for peace."

What are these—conscious political differences or just differences between more ore less considered thought and gestures made on the spur of the moment? More likely the latter. The Russian president is unpredictable in various respects.

But, of course, that is not the main thing. In an enormous country it is easier to shake loose the natural forces of history than to lead it to new shores. Armed men were the first to divide the Russian empire and in an era when the historical tide is ebbing they are the last to leave. How are they leaving? When should they leave? And should they return when they are called back—called by those who virtually drove them out?

There are more questions than answers. A military doctrine is necessary for other purposes, it is not adapted to answers to such questions. From the outset its authors made a sensible stipulation: "The document of a transitional period—the period of the establishment of Russian statehood, the implementation of democratic reforms, and the formation of a new system of international relations."

It is interesting not only for the "self-assertion of the Russian army." It also contains a negation. And, moreover, a negation of a negation—that Hegelian law so popular among Marxist-Leninists which, it turns out, unfailingly operates in postcommunist times too since in less scholarly language it is called common sense.

And so, negation. It is naturally the negation of the previous, cyclopean military machine, the gigantic peace time army, the previous senseless and utterly uncontrolled military expenditure which, alas, stemmed from the CPSU's messianic function and with which the ruling partocracy, proving its own incompetence and irresponsibility, dug a grave for itself and for the Soviet Union. The belated and once again incompetent perestroyka was unable to prevent collapse. Now the leitmotif of the Russian military doctrine consists of phrases—compliance with "economic potential" or "real opportunities." You get what you deserve. This truth seems to have been understood—in the attempt to cling to the positions of what is "simply" a great power during the disorderly dismantling of a superpower.

Negation of a negation? Oh, this is a highly complex and, I think, the main phenomenon of the present stage of the creation of the new statehood. If we take the armed forces, this is the increasingly obvious negation, which in some ways frightens the West (and not just the West) of the recent democratic-romantic negation of their role in society and the state. It is the negation of stupidity the other way round—when from the extreme of idolizing the military-industrial complex to which civilian production was sacrificed people have gone to the extreme of reducing it to nothing, refusing to see through the dust of destruction that the best in the potential of our science and industry is being destroyed.

The entire extremely complex process of the building of Russian statehood—with all its pluses and minuses—can be called today's negation of yesterday's negation. If we transfer it to personal categories it means Yeltsin's desire to have for himself and the Russian state in which he is the leader what he took from Gorbachev and the union state—the army. Your recall how in December 1991 when there was a "live" union president, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the defense minister of the moribund USSR, swore loyalty to a Russian president? In October 1993 Pavel Grachev remained loyal to the president and the commander in chief and the matter ended differently from the way it did in December 1991 and August 1991, when Yazov did not venture to order the storming of the White House.

Three years ago the democratic intelligentsia was working purposefully to completely dismantle the morale of the Soviet Army. Now Boris Yeltsin has promised to visit the troops every month and is fulfilling his promise, recently visiting the Tula division of the Airborne Troops. And when in Tula he recognized that it was a "big mistake" that Russia had left the world arms markets, he again showed himself an involuntary but assiduous student of Hegel. It is merely a pity that the wise German did not re0open windows for the return to the markets of those who stupidly abandoned them.

The negation of the negation does not of course mean a return to a totalitarian society with its system of priorities and values. Military doctrine is an attempt to find a new yardstick in ensuring security and in the military building of the Russia which has proclaimed its new place in the world and must now acquire it, not verbally but in deeds. Here it is seeking and has not yet found itself. That is tragically borne out by the October events. And is it not that which is described somewhat inconsistently in the lines of the doctrine's main provisions which allow the participation of the armed forces, together with Internal Affairs Ministry troops, in the elimination of internal conflicts?!

It is not very intelligible because the subject is very dangerous and delicate. Pavel Grachev delayed in ordering the introduction of troops into Moscow on the night of 3-4 October and gave it only when he received written instructions from the president. And now we must negotiate between Scylla and Charybdis—between the compulsory subordination of the army to the SUpreme Commander in Chief and the danger of its transformation into an instrument of personal power operating on the principle of blind personal devotion. These suspicions arose in society when Boris Yeltsin, immediately after the tragedy, bestowed lofty awards on the man who had no hesitation—Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin.

It is not military doctrine which will be our guide between Scylla and Charybdis but an entrenched democratic rule-of-law state based on the separation of powers and alien to any personality cult. It still has to be created. And that is one reason why today's military doctrine cannot be anything but transitional.

As for the West, its leaders had no objections to the use of Russian troops in the center of the Russian capital against—whatever your attitude toward it—the legally elected Russian parliament. On the other hand they are hypersensitive toward the presence of Russian units in the former union republics, although these units are there and are operating at the request of the new states' governments.

Of itself this is also a multifaceted theme. There are also sincere fears of the resurrection of Russia's "imperial instincts.? And, on the contrary, there are dreams of its geopolitical "fragmentation," which politicians like Brzezinski do not hide. There is the aloof—and widespread—view from afar, when it is falsely believed that it is quite easy to separate the ten "Siamese twins" who were called the Soviet people and in such a way that they remain alive, well, and grateful to the surgeons.

Incidentally, this frivolous view has been instilled in the West by our own radical democrats. Now it means that the cycles of comprehension of what is happening do not coincide and we are detained at the stage of negation. After all, those who instilled this view, finding themselves at a new twist in the spiral, are switching to the stage of historicism, pragmatism, and common sense.

## Regional Affairs

### Shokhin in Orenburg, Says Government Will Not Step Down

*LD2411213993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1739 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin has said that the Russian government does not intend to resign after the parliamentary elections of December 12. It intends to continue the policy of reforms. He made the statement in Orenburg Wednesday at the conference of city leaders and the public devoted to preparations and the adoption of a new constitution. Shokhin arrived in Orenburg from Krasnoyarsk where he held a similar meeting on the same morning.

The vice premier said that according to the draft new constitution, the government answers to the president, not to parliament. Shokhin said that the old government must raise the issue of the parliament holding a vote of confidence in the Cabinet, though this is not demanded by the Constitution.

The question of confidence in the government, believes the vice premier, will show whether the Cabinet has backing in the new parliament and what must be changed in the reform course. Shokhin has said that the Cabinet has not made a decision on a vote of confidence but he believes the variant is acceptable and possible.

Speaking about the relations with CIS partners, Shokhin has said that the introduction of national currencies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan has not worsened relations between Russia and those countries. He said that due to the lack of coordinated activities by some departments, the process took place in difficult conditions. According to Shokhin, Russia will not allow a deterioration in relations with those CIS partners who introduce national currencies, if the mutual non-payment problem between enterprises is solved and the list of goods on which Russia imposes export duties is shortened.

Shokhin has said that Russia has an understanding with Kazakhstan on the introduction of bills of exchange which, according to Shokhin, will help solve the problem of mutual non-payments.

### Comments on Government Reorganization

*LD2511124693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Russia's Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin confirmed that the duties had been partially redistributed in the government.

Shokhin told Interfax in Orenburg, where he had arrived for a working visit, that according to the agreement with the International Monetary Fund, the Finance Ministry would be in charge of the talks with this international financial organization. The agreement was approved by the former Soviet parliament back in 1992.

"We would like all credits to be handled by one organization, the Finance Ministry," said Shokhin.

He said that the partial redistribution of duties in the Cabinet was connected with the election campaign and with the attempts by some parties, including the ones in which Cabinet members are represented, to consolidate their positions before the election returns are received. However, said Shokhin, all the "i's" will be dotted on December 12. "There is no need to hurry," he said.

To quote Shokhin, the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (Shokhin is one of its leaders) insists that after the elections the prime minister raise the question of confidence in the government in the Federal Assembly.

Shokhin believes that prior to voting in the Federal Assembly, consultations will have to be held with the parliamentary factions on the government membership on the one hand, and on the Cabinet members' duties on the other. "The current redistribution of duties is a reflection of the situation," said Shokhin. "The changes that will be made at the end of December and the beginning of January will be far more important," he added.

### Comments on Ties With Kazakhstan

*LD2511145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Goncharov]

[Text] Orenburg November 25 TASS—Russia and Kazakhstan have found themselves in a streak of bad luck lately, with new problems added to the earlier sores, including the delay of mutual payments and behind-the-schedule deliveries. New problems stem from the introduction by Kazakhstan of its own national currency. Russia is resolute in its desire not to let relations worsen any further, according to Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin who stressed the need to preserve and develop friendly relations between Russia and Kazakhstan.

At a meeting of the leaders of the fuel and energy sector of the Orenburg Territory Shokhin said "transnational corporations" of Russian and Kazakh industrialists can ensure the stabilization of the economy of both countries.

This idea was seconded by representatives from the Aktyubinsk and western Kazakhstan regions who spoke at the meeting.

The crisis of payments will be resolved through barter patterns and the establishment of a Russian-Kazakhstan bank, probably with germany as a third party, Shokhin suggested.

The Government of Russia intends to encourage joint corporations, one of which can be created on the basis of the Kara-Chaganak natural gas field near Aktyubinsk and the gas processing facilities in Orenburg, Shokhin said.

### Krasnoyarsk Visit Not Part of Campaign

*LD2411114993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin asked journalists at a news conference today not to view his present arrival in Krasnoyarsk as part of the election campaign. There have lately been fears among the Russian president and government that the main event, which is due to take place on 12 December—a nationwide referendum on a new draft constitution—will be neglected in the heat of the pre-election struggle. That is precisely why all the deputy prime ministers, even those who are on leave, are now assuming the role of proponents of the new fundamental law of the country, considering its adoption to be the main thing, Shokhin stressed.

He left Krasnoyarsk today for Orenburg.

### Shakhray Warns of Civil War if Constitution Not Adopted

*LD2611072593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0712 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pyotr Tsyrendorjiev]

[Text] Ulan Ude November 26 TASS—The failure to approve the new Russian constitution in the December 12 referendum can bring Russia to the verge of civil war and reduce to nil all efforts to establish civil peace and accord in society, Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray told a meeting in the Council of Ministers of the Buryat Republic today.

Shakhray arrived in Ulan Ude earlier today to take part in the electoral campaign and discuss building his party, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord which he is leading.

The meeting in the Council of Ministers was item one on his agenda for Buryatia, where he is also planning to meet voters, candidates for deputies of the State Duma and appear live on local television.

In the Council of Ministers, Shakhray said he disagreed with some provisions of the draft constitution which will be put to a vote in the December 12 referendum but called on Russian people to approve the draft in the nation wide vote letting the newly elected duma, the lower chamber of Russia's new parliament, to fill it with substance, particularly as concerns the division of powers among the parts of the federation.

Buryatia is one of the first parts of the Russian Federation to establish an arm of the party of Russian Unity and Accord headed by Sergey Shakhray.

Upon arrival here, Shakhray told reporters that he will "work intensely in Buryatia". Shakhray is a federal government member responsible for the nationality policy in the country.

### Zaveryukha in Chelyabinsk, Comments on Agriculture

*LD2311224893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk, 23 Nov—The banking system existing in Russia does not promote the normal work of the agro-industrial complex. Deputy Prime minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha said this at a meeting with agrarian workers of the South Urals. After concluding a regional conference on preparing for and holding a nationwide vote on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation, he devoted the second half of the day to a conversation with heads of small holdings and farmers.

"Is it possible in the agricultural sphere to pay off the interest-bearing credits, that were granted for three months, in that period?" "Why is it that peasants need to pay in advance for everything they buy, while, as a rule, the state takes their produce on credit?" These and many other sore issues were raised at the meeting. The deputy prime minister believes that we should have financial support for agriculture in all forms of ownership, as is the case in many civilized countries. The government is drawing up a program for the development of the agro-industrial complex. The Federal Assembly, which is being elected, should, at last, recognize the priority of the countryside and adopt appropriate documents.

### Continues Visit

*LD2411110193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] The visit by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha to the Urals region is continuing. Today he and his accompanying delegation visited the Chelyabinsk central market and shopping center and acquainted themselves with the Russian State Stud Farm, our correspondent reports. Replying to questions connected with the agro-industrial complex, Zaveryukha noted that there is incredible speculation on land today, and the government is taking measures against this. Yesterday, Zaveryukha attended a regional conference on the question of preparations for and the holding of nationwide voting on the draft constitution in Chelyabinsk.

The heads of eight regions of the Urals, and also jurists, lawyers, and representatives of the president in the regions took part in its work.

## Chubays Addresses Regional Executive Conference in Omsk

*LD2511101393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0920 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Petrov]

[Text] Omsk November 25 TASS—Strong and tough power alone can provide the basis for establishing normal and sound Russian democracy, Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays told a regional conference of executive officials which met in this Siberian city to discuss the draft new constitution of the Russian Federation to be put to a national public vote on December 12.

Chubays said the call for establishing a presidential republic in Russia contained in the draft should be welcomed because “a multi- coloured parliamentary democracy is a utopia for our present society”.

### Discusses Draft Constitution

*LD2511111493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1102 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Petrov]

[Text] Omsk November 25 TASS—Strong and tough power alone can provide the basis for establishing a normal and sound Russian democracy, Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays told a regional conference of executive officials which met in this Siberian city to discuss the draft new constitution of the Russian Federation to be put to a national public vote on December 12.

Chubays welcomed the new constitution’s provision on establishing a presidential republic in Russia because “a multi-coloured parliamentary democracy is a utopia for our present society”.

According to Chubays, the draft constitution finally resolved “the most acute problem of the federation”—the inequality of its parts, with regions and territories living in conditions of a unitarian state, while national entities existed in conditions of a federation with the right to self-determination.

Under the new constitution, all parts (of the Federation) will have equal rights and all talk about the possibility of secession from Russia will be halted, Chubays said.

As concerns the mechanism of the political system incorporated in the constitution, the vice-premier said: My personal opinion is that the government should be made accountable to the State Duma, the lower chamber of Russia’s new legislature, a majority in which will define the composition of the cabinet.

He drew the attention of participants in the regional conference to the need of taking the draft constitution out of the context of electoral rivalry among parties, blocs and movements. The constitution is above electoral ambitions, Chubays said, and if the squall of confrontation engulfs the constitution on December 12 and it is not approved, the country will be plunged into a long political crisis once again.

## Buryat Parliament Introduces Presidency

*LD2311150393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1147 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tserendorzhiyev]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 23 Nov—The post of president of Buryatia was introduced today by the parliament of the republic. According to an amendment to the constitution of the former autonomous region, the president is the head of the Republic of Buryatia and is elected by universal suffrage. The Supreme Soviet has thus revoked its own decision to hold a republican referendum on 12 December on the question of introducing presidential rule.

The deputies adopted a new name for the legislative organ of the republic - the People’s Hural of Buryatia.

## Final List of Election Candidates Announced in Magadan

*OW2411033193 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Nov 93*

[From the “Oblast News Channel” program]

[Text] The District Electoral Commission has completed the registration of candidates for deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federal Assembly. Today we can tell you that there are six contenders for the mandate of deputy to the State Duma.

They are: Bogdan Yaroslavovich (Kobzar), first deputy chairman of the Oblrybolovpotrebsoyuz [Oblast Union of Fishermen’s Cooperatives] Board; Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Tokarev, president of the Magadan City International Pedagogical University; Nikolay Nikolayevich Lastenkov, businessman; Boris Samuilovich Levin, chief of a sector of the Yunost house of culture; Yevgeniy Vasilyevich (Glukhotan), general director of the Magadanprodtovary [Magadan Food Products] Association; and Vladimir Alekseyevich (Pinskin), director of Kolymagesstroy [Kolyma River Hydroelectric Power Station Construction] from Sinegorye settlement.

Candidates for deputy to the Federation Council are: Vladimir Anatoliyevich Butkeyev, director of the (Ilya) private enterprise; Viktor Vasilyevich Lipinskiy, director of the Magadan branch of the Moscow Law Institute; Pavel Aleksandrovich Lysov, former deputy of the Russian Federation; Viktor Grigoriyevich Mikhaylov, head of the Magadan Oblast administration; Anatoliy Vladimirovich Smirnov, deputy chief editor of the TERRITORIYA newspaper; Valentin Ivanovich Tsvetkov, general director of the MagadanNIIrud [Magadan Scientific Research Institute of Raw Materials] Joint Stock Association; Mikhail Aleksandrovich Shlyapin, head of the Magadanagropromstroy [Magadan Agricultural and Industrial Construction] Joint Stock Association; and Vladimir Dmitriyevich Yudin, first deputy chairman of the Magadan Oblast Property Fund.

In accordance with the president's edict, each candidate will be entitled to use the oblast mass media in the pre-election struggle. Specifically, candidates will be allowed one free appearance on Magadan radio and television.

## Chuvash Republic Introduces Presidency System

*LD2411163493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary November 24 TASS—The Russian Republic of Chuvashia on the Volga introduced the post of the president who is to be elected on December 12, simultaneously with the nationwide parliamentary polls.

The decision was adopted by the legislature of the republic on Wednesday which did not dissolve itself and decided to remain in office until a new one-chamber parliament is elected on March 13.

Local lawmakers clashed on the issue whether the republican president should also be the prime minister. They failed to arrive to a consensus and decided to leave the question for the future president to decide.

Seven candidates said they would run for the president so far.

## Shortfall in Moscow Draft Numbers; Most Choose Navy

*PM2311171193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 93 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Muscovites Want To Serve in the Navy Because There Are No 'Hot Spots' There"]

[Text] Every day 500 draftees are being sent to units from 8 Ugreshskaya Ulitsa, Moscow City's induction center. The capital plans to deliver a total of 130,000 to the ranks. Workers and loafers. Vocational and technical school and specialized secondary school students, and even commercial higher educational establishment students. There is now no deferment for them either.

True, I was told at the Defense Ministry, the draft into the Army of specialized secondary school students does not solve the general problem. There are too few of them—only a few dozen thousand—while this fall two drafts will be discharged simultaneously—those who have served 18 months and those who under the old law have done the full Army stint—two years. A total of 580,000 people.

There is nobody to fill this gap. Of the 1.814 million draft-age youths 1.515 million have the right to defer. In Moscow alone 535,000 of the 674,00 soldier and sailor candidates will not be serving. In addition, 42,000 are unfit for peacetime service and 21,000 are exempt through family circumstances. A little over half of the 130,000 drafted will go to combat units, the rest will go to Security Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs units, to railroad and construction battalions...

According to our photographer's testimony [report is accompanied by photograph of numbers of young men waiting around inside what is presumably induction center], service in the Navy enjoys the greatest popularity among draftee Muscovites, although there it is two years rather than 18 months until discharge into the reserve. The solution is easy—there are no "hot spots" in the Navy, you do not get shot at there.

## Chechen President Received by Saddam, Other Leaders

*LD2411214793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1739 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] A government delegation of the Chechen republic headed by President Jokhar Dudayev and Foreign Minister Shamseddin Yusef returned home yesterday night from a visit to the Middle East. The Chechen Foreign Ministry said the delegation was received by Jordan's King Husayn, President Hasan 'Umar al-Bashir of Sudan and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn. The meetings focused on a wide range of issues and resulted in signing a number of agreements, mainly of an economic nature.

## International Affairs

### Minister Denies Neglect of Nuclear Safety

*LD2411171193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] "Only a non-specialist could come to the conclusion that the technical conditions for the care and maintenance of strategic nuclear missiles in Ukraine fail to meet the necessary standards," said Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskiy.

He was commenting on Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's statement that the term of the safe upkeep of nuclear weapons in Ukraine was running out.

Radetskiy told Interfax-Ukraine that the republic's facilities for the maintenance of nuclear warheads met the highest technical standards and posed no threat to the population.

He said President Leonid Kravchuk, who is also commander-in-chief of Ukraine's armed forces, paid daily attention to the nuclear weapons stationed in the republic.

Radetskiy and Dmitriy Chernenko, who is Minister for Engineering, the Military Industrial Complex and Defense Conversion, visited a military university on Tuesday and several military enterprises in Kharkov, including the Khartron research and production association, which develops control systems for space rocket complexes and for strategic missiles.

Radetskiy also visited a military training ground at Chuguyev, where, he said, he had examined some new armaments models.

On Wednesday, Radetskiy and Chernenko were due to visit an engineering factory at Dnepropetrovsk.

### International Reaction to START I Ratification

#### U.S. Reaction 'Not Very Favorable'

*LD2411214393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1250 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Washington, 22 Nov—"The stance adhered to in the United States regarding ratification of the START I Treaty by the Ukrainian parliament is not very favorable," noted Dmytro Markov, first secretary for information and culture at the Ukrainian embassy in the United States, commenting on the reaction of U.S. official circles, mass media, and the public.

In their opinion, Mr. Markov noted, the numerous reservations expressed by Ukraine's parliament when ratifying the START Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol make the implementation of this treaty and Ukraine's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty virtually impossible. The West so far is not prepared to take into consideration the reservations expressed in the resolution of the Supreme Council of Ukraine. In particular this applies to the decision of the Supreme Council not to recognize Article 5 of the Lisbon Protocol as valid for Ukraine, conditions about granting reliable guarantees of national security to Ukraine, on granting economic assistance on this issue, and a number of other reservations.

The first secretary of the Ukrainian embassy in the United States, reported this when commenting on a news conference given by Oleh Bilorus, Ukrainian ambassador to the United States.

#### Envoy Briefs Hungarian President

*WS2411151193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Ukrainian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Hungary, Tkach, met yesterday with Hungarian President Goncz. The ambassador reported in detail to President Goncz on Ukraine's ratification of the START I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol. The ambassador noted that when ratifying the treaty, the Ukrainian parliament proceeded from the reality that has taken shape—namely, Western countries and Russia have given Ukraine no reliable security guarantees and financial aid for disarmament, while the issue of compensation for tactical nuclear arms remains unresolved.

For his part, President Goncz expressed hope that Ukraine will continue to be faithful to its obligations to scrap nuclear arms stationed on its territory.

#### Belarus, Uzbekistan React

*WS2411151893 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Ukrainian Ambassador to Belarus Volodymyr Zheliba has met Belarusian Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Sychev and Aleksandr Boycharov, head of the Department for International Security and Disarmament. The ambassador explained the political essence of the Ukrainian Supreme Council resolution on ratification of the START I treaty. It was underlined that the adoption of this document does not contradict with Ukrainian's course toward obtaining nonnuclear status.

The Belarusian side treated this information with understanding, and backed Ukraine's claims for security guarantees and financial-economic support on the part of other nuclear states. It was pointed out that Belarus is going to call a conference of Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Kazakh foreign ministers aimed at final resolution of the issue of complete elimination of nuclear arms. Emphasis was placed on the thesis that problems of nuclear disarmament must not be used as pretext for creating tension in international relations, nor should Ukrainian Supreme Council's reservations be used for demagogy.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian Ambassador to Uzbekistan Smetanin has met with Deputy Foreign Minister Khalilov and presented him a diplomatic note concerning the ratification of START I and the Lisbon Protocol by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. In the course of their conversation, the ambassador detailed the specifications accompanying the resolution and informed the Uzbek side of President Kravchuk's standpoint regarding this issue. The Ukrainian ambassador expressed hope that the Uzbek leadership would treat the Ukrainian Supreme Council resolution with understanding.

### Finnish Officials React

*LD2511232593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2345 GMT 24 Nov 93*

["The United States is dissatisfied. What will Scandinavia say?"—UNIAR headline]

[Text] Finland, 24 Nov—Mr. Kostyantyn Masyk, Ukraine's ambassador to the countries of Scandinavia, met with Mr. Jaakko Pekka Blomberg, acting secretary of state of Finland's Foreign Ministry, Mr. Pertti Paasio, chairman of the Finnish parliament's foreign affairs commission, and Mr. Jaakko Toivo Ilmari Hissa, director of parliament's international relations department. The ambassador passed to them the text of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's resolution on ratification of the START I Treaty, the Foreign Ministry's press release, and the statement of the press service of the Ukrainian president and Cabinet of Ministers. He gave them the necessary explanations of the position of the Supreme Council, the president of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry on this matter. Accords on passing these documents to the CSCE secretariat were reached.

The Ukrainian embassy has sent the text of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's resolution, with accompanying notes, and the press release explaining the positions of the Foreign Ministry and the press service of the Ukrainian president to the embassies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Ukraine's ambassador will meet with the ambassadors of these states in the near future.

### Plyushch Affirms Ukraine To Become Nuclear-Free

*LD2511001293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Ivan Plyushch, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council who is in the Czech Republic now, stated that Ukraine still intends to become a nuclear-free state. Incidentally, he said that the republic plans to preserve a proportion of missile components in order to use their nuclear content as fuel for nuclear power stations. Earlier this month Ukraine ratified the START I international treaty on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. Ukraine made reservations that severely hamper its implementation.

### Ukraine Cannot 'Liquidate' Arms

*AU2311214693 Prague CTK in English 1849 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Prague, Nov 23 (CTK)—The current state of the Ukrainian economy does not allow it sufficient financial resources to liquidate the nuclear arms on its territory, Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Ivan Plyushch said today after meeting with Czech President Vaclav Havel.

Ukraine has announced that it will neither keep nor proliferate nuclear weapons, Plyushch said. It is also bound to liquidate its nuclear potential by the year 2000.

Ukraine needs the nuclear material from its main military missiles as fuel for its nuclear power plants, because it cannot afford to buy this from Russia, he said. The possibility of using nuclear materials in this way is a condition of Ukraine's future approach to nuclear disarmament.

Nuclear power plants generate some 30 percent of all electrical energy in Ukraine. Although the Ukrainian parliament froze the construction of new nuclear reactors in October 1992, the country's energy crisis has forced a reversal of this decision. The situation was further aggravated by Russia's decision on Monday to halt exports of electrical energy to Ukraine.

### Israeli Delegation Discusses Ties, Near East

*LD2411200593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1250 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Kiev, 24 Nov—An Israeli delegation made up of Knesset Deputy Rafi Elul and Mrs. Zina Kleitman, a representative from Israel's Foreign Affairs Ministry, met Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk, Mr. Buteyko, head of the International Service of the President of Ukraine, and Mykola Makarevych, first deputy minister of foreign affairs on 23 November. The sides discussed the issue of peaceful settlement in the Near East and participation by Ukraine in this process, the issue of bilateral mutual relations between Ukraine and Israel, and specific ways of developing economic and political links. In particular, the talk was about possibly signing a series of economic agreements. The sides expressed mutual interest in the development of economic relations.

The delegation visited the Chernobyl museum today. A meeting of the delegation with Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Affairs, is planned.

### German Military Delegation Visits

*LD2411230493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2007 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev November 24 TASS—A German delegation from Bundeswehr led by General Manfred Dietrich for the first time paid a visit to Ukraine. The German delegation met with senior officials of the general headquarters of the Ukrainian Army and their colleagues, visited a military unit, went on a sightseeing tour of the city and visited the opera theater.

Leader of the German delegation said in an interview with the Ukrainian national information agency that the sides had arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary to develop multilateral contacts between Germany and Ukraine and contacts between the armed forces of the two countries, in particular.

During a recent visit paid to Ukraine by the German defence minister a treaty on bilateral cooperation in the military sphere was signed. The treaty envisages a regular exchange of experts, delegations and other representatives of the armed forces.

## National Affairs

### Council Views Economic State of Emergency

*LD2411170793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1525 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Kiev, 24 Nov—A closed session, chaired by Ivan Plyushch, is being held jointly by the Supreme Council Presidium and the Cabinet of Ministers Presidium. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy are taking part in it. The session is secret, so much so that some of the people's deputies, such as Stepan Khmara, Oleksandr Moroz, Oleksandr Vorobyov, and others, were not allowed in. A draft legal act is being considered on the introduction of an economic state of emergency, taking into account assistance to address the needs of the unprotected strata of the population. Apart from that, the following issues are being deliberated:

1) Increasing the minimum wages and pensions.
Deputy Viktor Slesarenko has informed a UNIAR correspondent that a new draft resolution was today handed out to standing commissions, referring to a three-fold increase in wages and pensions, with the average price rises index to be raised seven-fold;
2) Compensation for losses arising from the devaluation of the population's deposits in the Savings Bank of Ukraine;
3) The Draft Law on Labor Collectives in its third reading;
4) A draft resolution on measures to be taken to provide the population and the national economy with energy carriers.

### State of Emergency Rejected

*LD2411223893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2100 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Kiev—On 24 November the proposal to introduce an economic state of emergency with consideration for assistance directed at the unprotected strata of the population was rejected at a closed joint session of the presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine with the participation of Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine. Instead, at the proposal of the president of Ukraine, a set of emergency measures directed at making the process of market reforms more dynamic and providing for the unprotected strata of the population will be submitted to the Supreme Council session.

It was decided to triple the age-related minimum wages and pensions. They will come to 60,000 and 120,000 karbovantsi respectively. Most members of the Supreme Council presidium expressed themselves in favor of increasing the influence of the state on foreign economic activity and a state currency monopoly.

Andriy Pecherov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine planning, budget, and prices commission, said that "it is essential that we limit imports of whatever we can manage without."

Deputy Prime Minister Mykola Zhulynskyy informed an UNIAN correspondent that such an increase in wages could lead to an emission of 35 trillion, but the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine needs to find means of covering it. In his opinion, such measures could be withdrawing subsidies for meat and milk, and going over to a non-subsidy system regarding agricultural produce and food products, for so far these products are being washed out of Ukraine.

In his turn, Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, who has just returned from the Czech Republic, advocated the Czech experience of the Vaclav Klaus reforms: "We need a clear and dynamic system for entering a market economy."

### Paper Urges Introduction of State of Emergency

*AU2511153093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Nov 93 p 2*

[Anatoliy K[illegible]yanskyy report: "There Are Problems Wherever You Look"]

[Text] The last week was a difficult one for Ukraine's people's deputies. The situation which has recently taken shape in the fuel and energy sector, which has not only added to the social tension but also placed whole branches of the national economic complex on the verge of survival, demanded efficient and dramatic decisions from the deputies. That is why, during the discussion of this question, sharp criticism and even accusations against individual ministers and even against the entire government sounded from the podium.

The Supreme Council was probably right when it also discussed the situation in transport alongside these problems. The deputies, while criticizing the report of [transport] Minister O. Klympush, at the same time justly reproached the transport procurator's office and internal affairs organs, which not only fail to combat disorder.

thefts, and bribe-taking at railroads, but even elementary profiteering at railroad stations, where second-hand dealers have taken over the entire business of selling railroad tickets.

A separate conversation concerned the fate of our marine fleet, which simply withers before our own eyes and nobody knows for whom and for whose interests it works.

Thus, wherever we look, the conclusion is the same: The situation in Ukraine is extremely difficult.

We could foresee considerable difficulties. However, such a variant that we might sink so low that whole enterprises and whole branches of industry and regions would start closing down did not occur even to the greatest pessimist. Then, as the worst possible outcome, there emerged a real threat that Ukraine may remain without electric light and without heating—a state, which, as sounded from the microphone, sits and lives on coal.

Here the deputies' alarm and concern were perfectly understandable. Something else is not clear: If the problem does not lie in energy or other raw materials proper, materials that are essential for our industry, but just in money, then why cannot the Supreme Council and the government find out where those billions go that travel from pocket to pocket, bypassing the state treasury? The National Bank and its commercial brothers are not somewhere far away, but here, close at hand. Could it be that we do not have bright minds to unravel this detective story, which is not so complicated? Today, it is clear to everybody: Every day, sacks with Ukrainian karbovantsi are converted into dollars by commercial and not only commercial structures and settle at the bottom like dead cargo, stopping their circulation. It was repeatedly stated by deputies and statesmen that the country cannot survive if the currency of another country prevails in it, instead of its own national currency.

Certainly, the revelry of the dollar fever in Ukraine is not the only cause of the extreme imbalance prevailing in the financial mechanism. However, we must finally do something radical in order to do away with what stifles our breathing and must free ourselves from the deadly noose.

Well, perhaps, today, we cannot avoid introducing an emergency situation in the economy. Even though this may be disadvantageous for political considerations, our state's economic interests are now much more important than political ambitions. Those deputies are right who stressed that this measure should have been taken yesterday and that, today, even more serious perspectives can be seen on the horizon—in order to rescue Ukraine, it is even necessary to introduce a general state of emergency.

Maybe God will save us from such an extreme step, but it is urgently necessary to introduce tough and most stringent order in the settlement of payments and in the entire banking system, and also in everything related to purchase and sale.

There is nowhere to retreat.

## Supreme Council Discusses Currency Issues

*LD2511213893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1720 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Kiev—People's deputies returned to examining the issue of currency regulation at the day's plenary session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on 25 November. A draft law "On Making Changes to Decrees of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on Currency Regulation," a draft Supreme Council resolution on the procedure for putting the said law into practice, and also a resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers "On Canceling Concessions to Enterprises and Organizations Regarding Exemptions From the Compulsory Sale of Revenue in Foreign Currency" were offered to parliamentarians.

The draft law proposed that the National Bank of Ukraine be granted the right to establish the exchange rate of karbovanets in relation to foreign currencies in coordination with the Cabinet of Ministers and that the term for enterprises and organizations to return currency receipts be reduced from 90 to 30 days. The draft Supreme Council resolution envisages that a mechanism to control settlements in currency be elaborated, that the validity of individual licenses for enterprises and organizations to open currency accounts in foreign banks (apart from enterprises of sea, river, and air transport), be canceled as from 1 January 1994, and that a limit to the margin between the purchase and sale exchange rates be established.

The discussion began after the speeches of National Bank Chairman Viktor Yushchenko and Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy. Yushchenko noted that the introduction of a fixed exchange rate of karbovanets, which does not correspond to reality, had blocked export operations at a time when it was necessary to create as favorable as possible conditions for export activity. The chairman of the National Bank said that he personally believes that the number of commercial banks allowed to conduct settlements in currency should not be reduced, and that a system of currency taxation is considerably more efficient than the statutory compulsory sale of currency by enterprises in accordance with a fixed exchange rate. But the government adheres to another opinion, which was reflected in the proposed documents.

Zvyahilskyy explained that introducing the compulsory sale of 50 percent of currency in accordance with a fixed exchange rate did not have the desired effect, mainly because 80 percent of enterprises had concessions. So the government has now adopted a decision to cancel all of the concessions. It is necessary to leave the system of compulsory sale of currency receipts to the state in order to achieve a positive trade balance next year. A currency tax is possible at a level no lower than 70 percent. In the opinion of Zvyahilskyy, such a high tax level will not contribute to animating production. If the Supreme Council supports the government's proposal, maintained the acting prime minister, then considerable improvements will take place in Ukraine's economy in six months.

After lengthy discussion, in which President Leonid Kravchuk and Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, took part, the proposed law and Supreme Council resolution were adopted.

The next issue to be discussed was social protection of the population. In the opinion of socialist deputies, the discussion boiled down only to determining the amounts of the minimum wage and pension. In particular, these issues were fundamental ones in the report of Economy Minister Roman Shpek. According to him, the government had proposed to remove subsidies for meat and milk products and to give them to the consumers. Because of this, the possibility would be achieved of making additional payments for some types of products to the value of 63,500 karbovantsi, which would be introduced in the minimum tariff rate of each citizen. Shpek maintained that such additional payments would begin to operate in December of this year.

The most acute debates were on the draft resolution of the Supreme Council "On Increasing Amounts of Wages and Pensions According to Age," from which it ensues that the minimum wage would be 60,000 and the minimum pension would be 120,000 karbovantsi. People's Deputy Oleksandr Barabash said that the government was adhering to a course of limiting the standard of living, and of redistributing national riches. He proposed that an increase in pension be introduced from 1 December, and wages from 1 November. In this case, the pension fund, which is created from the wage fund, would manage to make recalculations for pensioners in time. Deputy Serhiy Dorohuntsov called the proposed draft resolution not social protection, but "social reanimation," although like the majority of deputies he considers the adoption of this resolution to be inescapable. The discussion is continuing.

### Kravchuk Addresses Parliament

*LD2511145693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] During this morning's debate on the draft law on introducing amendments to the Cabinet of Ministers' decree on hard currency regulation, Speaker Ivan Plyushch invited President Leonid Kravchuk to urge deputies to vote on this issue. Plyushch said there are two points of view: To continue the policy of currrency regulation or to release producers from this obligation and impose a tax on currency receipts. Kravchuk spoke at 1000 GMT. This is what he said:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] Esteemed people's deputies. There are two problems that have to be decided in this chamber. It seems to me that if we resolve them, today or after consultation with specialists, then we will resolve other problems as well. The first problem is connected with the fact that enterprises in the regions should be released and that they themselves should be responsible for ensuring they have everything they need and should pay only a tax to the state. I support this proposal but a mechanism on when and how to do this should be elaborated. That is the first thing.

Second, do we need a completely free exchange rate, as they are proposing, or do we need a settlement exchange rate [rozrakhunkovyy kurs]? Today, the bank and the government agreed to set up a mechanism for regulating the settlement exchange rate and not a fixed rate, or some other rate, as it used to be, but a settlement exchange rate proceeding from the situation which exists in our country and all those correlations and trade balances with Russia and other countries. It seems to me that they agreed on this. Viktor Andriyovych [Yushchenko] and Yukhym Leonidovych [Zvyahilskyy] have already spoken on this.

It seems to me that we must support this, because if we release it completely, then we simply will not be able to control the situation. We must strive for a positive trade balance. Calculations show that we will have it next year and then we will be abe to change the situation.

Thus, if we resolve these two issues of principle here we will not then be faced with the problem of suspension, privatization, monopolization, demonopolization, or corporatization etc., then possibly we will emerge from this situation. But it is necessary for you to be unanimous because, if my attempts to do this by decree... [Kravchuk pauses] They rightly say that a decree was adopted on uncompleted construction and [Volodmyr] Pylypchuk rightly takes the floor and says that it is necessary to announce tenders, etc. As soon as 100 facilities were determined one heard objections from the localities: We cannot, we do not want to, we will do it on our own. They have not been building it since 1975, but are saying that they will build it on their own. Therefore, if the Supreme Council and the government were to agree on this and correspondingly, if local bodies of power were to work in an appropriate way, then that is what must be done and I support such an idea—I say this sincerely—but it must be decided today and, as they say, it must finally be determined. There is no need for you to divide into groups, positions, etc. We will have one position and one approach. [end recording]

### Cabinet Publishes Figures on Economic Crisis

*LD2511094993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has published figures on the economic development of the country over the first nine months of this year. Our correspondent Viktor Alekseyev reports on this issue.

[Alekseyev] The economic department of the Cabinet of Ministers outlined the essence of the account in a brief statement. I quote, the volume of industrial production continues to fall, the financial position of enterprises and organizations is deteriorating, the budget deficit is rising, and the emission of money has increased sharply, causing a further deepening of the economic crisis, unquote.

Then come the figures, which require no comment. The consolidated budget deficit—that is the one that takes account of all forms of budget spending and revenue—was 3.647 billion karbovantsi in January-September of this year, while the strictly state budget deficit reached 5.281 billion, exceeding the approved ceiling almost sixfold. Over 50 percent of industrial enterprises have reduced their volume of production and this includes a drop in production of 130 of the 146 most important industrial products.

The situation in the oil refining industry is particularly grave. Gasoline production has fallen by 36 percent, diesel fuel by 28 percent, and fuel oil by 42 percent. Less milk and meat is being produced. Only with grain crops is the situation more or less satisfactory, with 96 percent of the state order met.

The rapid devaluation of the karbovanets has continued. At the end of October, the dollar was already worth 31,000 karbovantsi in currency trading. Average state sector pay is 197,000 karbovantsi, which is approximately equivalent to $7.50 or 9,000 rubles. The difficult material situation could not fail to have affected the level of population growth. The mortality rate has exceeded the birth rate by 120,000, which is 82 percent more than the same period last year.

## Democratic Forces Seek Election Alliance

*WS2511100793 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 16 Nov 93 p 3*

[Report by Vladimir Katsman: "A Permanent Conference of Democratic Parties' Leaders Has Been Established"]

[Text] On 11 November in Kiev, a conference of leaders of democratic political parties and major civil organizations was held behind closed doors. The meeting was convened by Vyacheslav Chornovil [Rukh leader], Mykhaylo Horyn [leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party], Volodymyr Yavorivskyy [leader of the Democratic Party of Ukraine], Dmytro Pavlychko [head of the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Committee], and Volodymyr Filenko [leader of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine].

The conference was attended by the leaders of Rukh, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine, the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Green Party of Ukraine, the Peasant Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Labor Congress, the Prosvita Society, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Union of Ukrainian Women, the Officers Union, and several other parties. Levko Lukyanenko [former ambassador to Canada] and Ihor Yukhnovskyy [former deputy prime minister] were also invited to participate in the meeting.

As a VEDOMOSTI correspondent learned, a protracted discussion was devoted to the idea of a coordinative committee of democratic forces which would, at least partially, integrate their electoral campaigns. However, no final agreement on a structure for such a committee was reached. It was prevented by discrepancies among various leaders on methods of unification at the regional and republican levels, as well as by the ambitions of many party bosses.

Levko Lukyanenko came forward with a detailed program for holding elections and coordinating activities of democratic organizations.

The four-hour discussion resulted in a resolution on establishing a permanent conference of the leaders of political parties and civil organizations. Members of the conference will consult on joint activities at least once a week. Commenting on the above in an interview with VEDOMOSTI, Vyacheslav Chornovil assessed the first meeting as successful "because it will help democrats to avoid rivaling one another in electoral districts, jointly recommend candidates, and fight the 'party of power.'"

It is hardly possible that the newly established structure will merge with the Democratic Center, founded on an individual basis. Nevertheless, Volodymyr Yavorivskyy said that the conference's ranks would be open to anybody, and Volodymyr Filenko even outlined the requirements to become a member: developing this country, not any other, as well as establishing democracy and a market economy. This seemed to be the only one agreement the participants in the meeting were able to reach. The next meeting of the conference will be held on 16 November.

## Rukh Leader Deems Election Victory 'Prime Task'

*WS2511093693 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 18 Nov 93 p 2*

[Unattributed RUKH-PRESS report]

[Text] Stabilization and progress in Ukraine are impossible without the opposition's victory in the elections and the creation of a reform-minded government. This is why the election set for 27 March will be momentous for Ukraine. This was declared by Vyacheslav Chornovil, Rukh leader, in his report to the organization's Grand Council. In the two years since the referendum, the pro-communist "party of power" has brought Ukraine to the brink of catastrophe. The Grand Council stressed that along with communist and separatist organizations, this "party of power" will become Rukh's leading rival in the elections.

As a centrist organization, Rukh considers its allies the forces that stand for consolidation of Ukraine's independence, which would not undermine the building of democracy or the implementation of economic reforms. This is why Rukh does its best to prevent dispersion of forces seeking power to implement its program principles.

Rukh's election platform will be approved by its 5th All-Ukrainian Assembly, scheduled for 10 December in Kiev. Vyacheslav Chornovil emphasized that the assembly will not nominate a presidential candidate. He also called on other political structures to do the same. The opposition leader believes that issues concerning the Presidency should wait until March, because the prime task now is to win the elections to the Supreme Council and form a coalition government.

## Rukh Urges Boycott of Crimean Elections

*WS2511090393 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 18 Nov 93 p 1*

[Unattributed RUKH-PRESS report]

[Text] The Ukrainian Popular Movement, Rukh, has made public a statement concerning presidential elections in the Crimea and the refusal to register the Rukh's regional organization on the peninsula. Rukh called on all democratic forces and residents of the Crimea to withhold from participating in the illegal presidential election. By holding it, the statement stressed, we would undermine Ukraine's territorial integrity. Protests against the presidential elections were also voiced by the All-Crimean Congress of Ukrainians, the Medzhlis of Crimean Tartars, and the Crimean Civil Congress.

## Kazakhstan

### Semipalatinsk Accident Makes Future Uncertain

*MK2411114093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 1*

[Andrey Vaganov report under the "Security" rubric: "Accident in Semipalatinsk-21. If the Testing Ground Capital Is Evacuated, Underground Nuclear Device Will Be Left Neglected"]

[Text] The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA editorial board has learned from competent sources that an emergency situation has arisen in the city of Kurchatov (Semipalatinsk-21) located within the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground (Kazakhstan). Following a series of accidents in public utility networks, the city's life support system has effectively broken down. There is no need to explain what it may lead to in the conditions of a harsh winter that has already begun. Kazakhstani authorities and the Russian Federation Defense Ministry are considering evacuating several tens of thousands of residents from this settlement, which has until recently been closed to outsiders, including a unit of the Russian Armed Forces that provides support services to the nuclear testing ground.

Material damage has been as yet hard to estimate. At any rate, according to experts' tentative estimates, it may amount to billions of rubles. No billions, however, can measure the immense increase in risk for human lives given that a test-ready nuclear device stored in a Semipalatinsk testing ground silo has remained there since 1991. I have already had an opportunity to report (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA No. 150, 1993) that developing methods for extracting and defusing it alone will cost hundreds of millions of rubles. In the event of the Russian military unit's evacuation, this and many other testing ground installations packed with up-to-date research and diagnostic equipment will effectively be left without appropriate servicing technology.

Construction of the city of Kurchatov, situated on the banks of the Irtysh river—the capital of sorts of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground—began over 40 years ago together with the launch of the Soviet program for the development of nuclear weapons. Apart from specialized areas equipped for conducting underground nuclear explosions, presently there are two reactor systems on the testing ground: IGR (impulse uranium-graphite reactor in operation since 1 August 1961) and "Baykal-1," made up of two research nuclear reactors—IVG-1M and RA (in operation since 7 March 1975).

Following the USSR's collapse, after the Semipalatinsk testing ground had become part of Kazakhstan's nuclear center, specialists repeatedly expressed their concern over the future of the military unit servicing the testing ground. Numerous legal and logistical matters that have yet to be settled by Russia and Kazakhstan with regard to the Semipalatinsk testing ground have been steadily sapping the unique unit's strength, particularly affecting highly qualified officers and also civilian nuclear scientists. The recent events may become the straw that definitively breaks the back of the unique staff. However, Kurchatov's emergency situation in itself, according to some experts with whom I have had a chance to speak, has been made possible precisely because of the brain drain depriving the city of qualified specialists.

Is this a process under way? If so, then it is the "Baykonur" space center—another time bomb in Russian-Kazakhstani relations— that is bound to be its next victim.

### Nazarbayev Interviewed on Ties With Russia

*LD2411215593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] President Nazarbayev in an interview with Interfax aired his views on Kazakhstan's political and economic prospects. We print the first part of it below.

IF [INTERFAX]: Voices can increasingly be heard in the higher echelons of Russia's leadership calling for protection of the rights of Russian-speaking communities living outside the country. Your refusal to meet Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who intended to raise this question, was widely seen as a demarche. Does the problem of the Russian-speaking community really exist in Kazakhstan?

NAZARBAYEV: The answer is no because the country's constitution does not discriminate against people on ethnic grounds.

Secondly, any talk about the protection of Russians living in Kazakhstan reminds one of the times of Hitler who also started off with the question of protecting Sudeten Germans. This gives rise to fears, particularly for Russians living outside their country of origin who did not ask for protection. They are citizens of Kazakhstan. As president elected by them, I am the first to take responsibility for their rights and security. The state of Kazakhstan is responsible for its citizens. We cannot, however, encroach on anyone's right to leave the country if he wants to. Russia has a law granting citizenship to newly-arriving ethnic Russians.

IF: Citizenship aside, where do they get jobs, housing and money?

NAZARBAYEV: What do I have to do with all that?

IF: Dual citizenship is often mentioned as an option for defusing ethnic tension and improving the overall situation in the republic...

NAZARBAYEV: The question of dual citizenship remains unresolved even at the level of the United Nations due to the fact that experts realize the measure is more likely to have an unsettling rather than a stabilizing effect. Latest counts put the number of Turkic-speaking people in Kazakhstan at about 65 percent, compared to 31 percent who are Russian.

IF: But the figure used to be higher than 31 percent. What happened to the rest of them?

NAZARBAYEV: The previous figure included more than 500,000 servicemen of the former Soviet Army. After troop cuts, only 60,000 of these remain - others have completed their term of service and left.

Now back to the question of dual citizenship. I am sure it is pushed to the fore by bosses who acquired property in Russia and now want to grab something here as Kazakh citizens as the country starts a privatization campaign. The ordinary worker has no need for dual citizenship.

I cannot dismiss Kozyrev's statement saying Russia will bring full pressure to bear upon the republics with Russian-speaking communities to force them to adopt legislation on dual citizenship. Personally, I do not think the Russians should be singled out as a special category. Just as members of more than 100 other ethnic groups, they are citizens of Kazakhstan enjoying equal rights and freedoms envisaged by the local constitution.

So, the question of dual citizenship is entirely out of place in a multi-ethnic Kazakhstan. Otherwise, we will create a highly tense situation in society. Even the United Nations is undecided about the concept of dual citizenship with its largely contradictory and often destabilizing overtones. Besides, isn't a person with dual citizenship likely to find himself in a dubious situation having to live side by side with those who do not have and may be unwilling to enjoy the same status? Can you seriously think about your future or wanting to settle here for good if you cherish the thought of leaving elsewhere at any moment? Are you quite sure of being awaited there?

I keep reiterating this in respect of Russians, Germans, Ukrainians and others: do not leave, live here in calm, we have nothing to divide, here is your homeland which will stand up for you.

That Russia wants to enshrine the institution of dual citizenship in its new constitution is entirely its own internal affair and we have no right to interfere in this. But we expect the other side to display the same sort of non-involvement in internal affairs.

The "unexpected" care and concern about the fate of Russians in other states, let alone stable states, that some Russian politicians have suddenly began to display is hardly caused by lofty morals. The reverse is more likely to be true: by having destroyed the ruble zone and thereby frustrating the expectations of people, and above all those of the Russian population living outside Russia proper and losing credibility on the ground, they are now engaged in populist pre-election gambling. There is nothing behind it all apart from political considerations.

It would not be bad at all if the question was one of consolidating economic ties, lifting barriers against trade and human contacts, cultural links and mutual enrichment of peoples. Instead, political ultimatums are brought into play. We do not accept them and any talk about the need to bring economic pressure on Kazakhstan cannot be taken seriously.

When references are made to the exodus of Russians from the republic, the truth lies elsewhere. Migration is a natural process. Some people who did not find themselves a place in Kazakhstan just go back home. But there is one other and larger source of migration. We have already talked about Russian servicemen who went back to Russia after finishing their term of service or after troop cuts. It is not worth jumping to rash or emotional conclusions because of this.

I would like to stress again that anyone's departure is a loss for Kazakhstan and its economy. I ask such people not to leave. Kazakhstan is their country and homeland.

Fuelling tension because of the election campaign must not be allowed. This can be highly dangerous. One should contemplate what happens if all of it boomerangs into multi-ethnic Russia. I do not shout from rooftops about the fate of 1.2 million ethnic Kazakhs living in Russia. There are 170,000 Kazakhs in the Astrakhan Region alone and one million in Uzbekistan.

But I trust in the common sense of ordinary people. There is no need to stoke up tension between different ethnic groups who have for decades lived in harmony in Kazakhstan. The politicians will stand aside when it is the ordinary people who become embroiled in bloodshed.

### Views 'Unacceptable' Ruble Zone Terms

*LD2511130593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev stated that Russia had made a strategically misguided move by pushing other republics out of the ruble zone.

He told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview that certain forces in Kazakhstan had put pressure on him, insisting on the introduction of a Kazakh currency. "I kept telling them that we should stay in the ruble zone, because this coresponds to the policy of integration pursued by Russia and Kazakhstan. That was an objective necessity," said Nazarbayev.

He noted, however, that Moscow had advanced unacceptable terms for admitting Kazakhstan to the ruble zone, including the demand for transforming the 3.2 Tn [Trillion] ruble credit into a state debt against the pledge of Kazakhstan's gold and hard-currency reserve.

Such demands are unacceptable, said Nazarbayev.

"Of course, we sacrificed part of our sovereignty by pursuing the same tax and credit policy. But it is physically impossible to fulfil the latest demands," he said.

"Russia continued to inundate Kazakhstan with old banknotes, spurring the galloping inflation and undermining the Kazakh citizens' living standards. We could not wait any longer. On November 2 we realized that we had been pushed out of the ruble zone and on November 12 introduced our national currency," said Nazarbayev.

## Comments on Currency Introduction

*LD2511205793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1621 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Below is the second part of President Nazarbayev's exclusive interview with Interfax.

IF [INTERFAX]: Kazakhstan's introduction of its own currency is widely seen parting of the ways with Moscow. Do you think the situation is as dramatic as we are led to believe and what sort of squeeze did the country feel by taking a plunge?

NAZARBAYEV: It is early days to say anything definite. We have just introduced our own currency unit and without any difficulty, I must say. During a meeting on November 2, I and Yeltsin had agreed that our negotiations on Kazakhstan's entry of the new ruble zone were deadlocked. Agreement was reached there and then that the two countries would strike a deal to separate their currencies but would help each other to do so. Incidentally, it was not us but Russia which decided first to quit the ruble zone on July 26. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were actually left high and dry to fare with their own currencies. So we have had four months of experience in free sailing.

IF: Why bother trying to create a ruble zone which is doomed to be stripped down anyway?

NAZARBAYEV: I do not know. The question must be addressed elsewhere. We complied with Russia's last demand to Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko for ratifying the outline agreement between the two countries. We managed to push it through parliament as it opened on October 12 and in the face of considerable opposition, mind you.

IF: How do you explain the emergence of strong opposition to the agreement?

NAZARBAYEV: For quite some time, I have been under pressure to introduce national currency but I tried to reason with the opposition saying it was far better to hold back to the ruble zone. I said it was in line with our policy and the high degree of integration the two countries had. I did not try to put any gloss on it.

IF: Which means Kazakhstan was just forced out of the ruble zone, wasn't it?

NAZARBAYEV: The trouble is Russia had no parliament at the time to ratify the agreement as we did. I realized that Russia's new parliament, the Federal Assembly, would be able to convene only at the end of January or early in February and the ratification issue could hardly come top of its agenda. We could no longer afford being drowned by old Russian rubles which would have increased the already high inflation and cut into living standards. We could not afford waiting any longer. On November 2, we realized about being squeezed out of the ruble zone and announced introducing our own currency ten days later.

IF: Does this mean an end to the cherished dream about a common ruble zone?

NAZARBAYEV: I do not know which of the six CIS countries signing the monetary union deal will continue to stick to the ruble. Now that Armenia has announced quitting the ruble zone, Tajikistan is the only CIS state which uses the ruble as the only legal tender on its territory.

For its part, Kazakhstan has always trusted in agreements reached at the level of heads of state and government. Whatever I say in Kazakhstan will always be discussed and done accordingly. However, Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin visiting Almaty said the agreements reached by the Russian and Kazakh Prime Ministers were wrong and there would be no change of old Russian rubles into new ones at one-to-one rate. He had next put forward a knowingly unacceptable proposal saying Russia was ready to provide Rbl 3.2 Tn [trillion] in new cash at an annual 200 percent interest rate and a 50 percent collateral in Kazakhstan's gold and foreign exchange reserves. Nor could Moscow's other proposal for a one to two exchange rate be accepted. This would have amounted to halving the factories' current accounts.

After all, we did not object to forfeiting part of the country's economic sovereignty by agreeing to common taxation and crediting policies. But we are physically unable to accept the financial ultimatum brought in at the last moment.

IF: What sort of reaction was there on the ground?

NAZARBAYEV: During a recent tour of western and northern parts of the country, I saw no signs of panic or objection to the country's own currency. Members of all ethnic groups appear to be supportive of the government resolution. Incidentally, independent polls also indicate no exodus from the country following the introduction of Kazakhstan's own currency.

No one tries to foment tension in order to strain relations with Russia. It is the economy which dictates rules both here and in Russia. I do not think that Russia's decision was right seen in the longer-term prospect. It can be tactically right but the two countries will not be able to live apart after centuries-long cohabitation and the rigid contacts formed by the Soviet Communist Party.

For the final part of Nazarbayev's interview refer to PB's next edition dealing with Kazakhstan's army reform, its cooperation with countries other than the former Soviet republics and the prospects of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

### Almaty City Council Dissolves Itself

*LD2511150493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By KAZTAG correspondent Tatyana Zhurbenko for TASS]

[Text] Almaty November 25 TASS—The Almaty municipal council announced its dissolution. At an extraordinary session of the council on Thursday, 150 deputies voted for the council's dissolution before its term expires. Eleven deputies voted against.

The adopted resolution says that the councils are synonymous with the previous ideology. The outdated legislative base does not allow deputies to act effectively in present conditions. As to laws adopted by the parliament, they do not influence economic and social processes in Kazakhstan because of the lack of mechanism for practical implementation.

A statement by a number of parliamentarians published in several Almaty newspapers that the dissolution of local councils is unconstitutional is nothing but the lack of sense of reality, said Akhan Bizhanov, former chairman of the municipal council.

Profound positive changes take place in the republic in every area, while the representative authorities remain ossified.

All power of the State Council till the new elections will be turned up to the municipal administration. A special commission has been formed to hold the necessary organisational and technical measures and to provide employment for officials from the dissolved organ of power.

## Tajikistan

### Rakhmanov Receives Visiting Afghan Delegation

*LD2511144593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, received Dr. Abdurrahman, political adviser to the Afghan president and head of a working delegation on preparations for the upcoming official visit of a delegation from the Islamic State of Afghanistan headed by Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, president of Afghanistan.

A personal letter from the Afghan president was given to Imamali Rakhmanov. The letter addresses prospects of bilateral cooperation, the need to normalize the situation on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, and the issues that will be discussed at the upcoming meeting of the heads of states of the two countries.

Imamali Rakhmanov stressed that the visit by the Afghan delegation headed by Professor Rabbani will not only (?lead) to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries but will be a major factor in helping to consolidate peace and security in the entire region.

The meeting was attended by Irkin Rahmatulloyev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the republic, and Karimjon Yuldoshev, state adviser to the head of state.

At the end of the meeting Dr. Abdurrahman told journalists that he is very satisfied with the results of his meeting [with Rakhmanov] and that they had discussed a complete range of political and economic issues on relations between the two countries in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. He said they will make every effort to prepare all documents before the visit by Borhanoddin Rabbani and to take all measures to conclude this visit successfully.

### Visit by Rabbani Discussed

*LD2511222293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Tajik Parliament Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov received a delegation from Afghanistan in Dushanbe on Thursday [25 November]. A report from a well-placed source says that at a meeting, closed to journalists, the terms and program of a visit by the Afghan leader Borhanoddin Rabbani to Tajikistan were discussed. There have been no details about the talks so far.

Meanwhile, as the City's Mayor Jamoliddin Mansurov announced in the Town Hall on Wednesday, Rabbani is expected to arrive in Tajikistan on November 27.

### Tajik Delegation Pays Visit to Afghanistan

*LD2411185193 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] The heads of an official parliamentary Commission of the Republic of Tajikistan on Refugee Affairs, Tohir Ahmadov and (?Sangmohammad) Zuhurov, who are visiting the Islamic State of Afghanistan at the recommendation of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the republic, met Qari Rahmatollah, the governor of Qonduz Province.

The press department of the Foreign Affairs Ministry reports that the meeting was held in Shir Khan Bandar [scene of recent fighting among various Afghan groups]. [passage omitted]

In the course of the meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, issues of establishing and strengthening border relations were discussed. During the meeting, Qari Rahmatollah said that he will not spare any efforts in the repatriation of refugees to Tajikistan. He considered their presence in Afghanistan as a tragic page in the history of the peoples of Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

The Afghan side also expressed special interest on issues of establishing trade and economic relations with the Khatlon Oblast of Tajikistan. In this connection, it was stated that the leaders of Khatlon Oblast should pay a visit to Qonduz Province.

### Train Derailed by Explosion on Kurgan-Tube Line

*LD2511130493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1129 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] At 7:30 a.m. on November 25, a freight train was derailed on the 74th kilometer of the Termez-Kurgan-Tube railway, 8 kilometers from the village of Ayvadj, reliable sources in Dushanbe told Interfax.

The railway is reported to have been exploded by opposition rebels, who had crossed the border from Afghanistan in the section controlled by the 2nd Shaartuz border post. No one was injured.

## Uzbekistan

### Karimov Pays Official Visit to United Kingdom

#### Agreements Signed With Major

*LD2411221993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1725 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Solomin]

[Text] London, 24 Nov—A meeting between Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, who is paying an official visit to Great Britain, and the British Prime Minister John Major took place today in London. During the meeting they paid special attention to the questions of the development of mutually beneficial relations between Great Britain and Uzbekistan in many different fields.

Talks took place during a working lunch in honor of the head of the Uzbek state. Some members of the British Cabinet of Ministers and prominent representatives of the country's business community were invited to the meeting.

An official representative of the prime minister's office has told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the signing of some bilateral agreements between Uzbekistan and Great Britain took place the same day. Agreements on protecting and encouraging investments, economic cooperation, cooperation in air transportation, and a memorandum on freedom of travelling were among them. Two commercial contracts with British companies were also concluded.

An official spokesman for 10 Downing Street underlined that British businessmen pay a lot of attention to the development of ties with the Republic of Uzbekistan and that the agreement on protecting and encouraging investments "is opening doors" for investments of the British capital in the Uzbek economy. She said that the business community of Great Britain is showing special interest in development and exploitation of oil and gas as well as different mineral resources.

It was agreed that a representative delegation of British businessmen and officials headed by a member of the Cabinet of Ministers will soon visit Uzbekistan to study thoroughly the situation in the Uzbek economy and the further prospects for deepening of cooperation.

Today the President of Uzbekistan was also received by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II.

### UK To Help Develop Gold Mine

*LD2511144193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 112[illegible] GMT 25 nov 93*

[Text] At their [London] meeting on Wednesday [24 November] Uzbek President Islam Karimov and British Prime Minister John Major initialled an agreement reached in principle between the Lonrho conglomerate and the government of Uzbekistan on developing the Amantaytau and Daughystay gold fields in the Kizyl-Kum desert. The agreement will be implemented by a joint venture that will include Lonrho and two state-owned Uzbek companies.

Subsequently the chairman of Lonrho's Council of Directors, Dieter Bock, the chairman of Uzbekistan's State Committee for Mining, Nikolay Kuchersky, and the chairman of the State Committee for Geology and Mineral Resources, Tulkun Shalkubov, signed an afficial agreement on this score.

The joint venture will be called "Anamtaytau Goldfields". Soon it will conclude preparatory works and sampling, and start building a mine. According to Bock, the mine is expected to be put into operation in early 1996, and yield initially 10 tons of gold a year.

According to estimates, the mine will work for over 27 years, and its overall expenditure in the first eight years will surpass 250 million dollars.

As President Karimov said Wednesday evening, addressing the leaders of the Confederation of British Industries, Tashkent guarantees the implementation of such agreements, and he, as president, is willing to help "free of charge" all businessmen who want to promote cooperation with his country. "You need not be afraid of anything happening in our country in the next five years," he said. "Karimov will remain president."

Earlier, on Tuesday, the Uzbek president deposited an undisclosed quantity of gold in Rothschilds' Bank, to guarantee that, should the investments of British businessmen prove to be unprofitable, their losses will be compensated for.

### Karimov 'Satisfied' With Talks

*LD2511171693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1550 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] On an official visit in London, President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan has said he is greatly satisfied with the talks he had on Wednesday with the British Prime Minister, John Major.

He told an Interfax correspondent during a brief meeting with journalists that he was pleased to hear the voice of one of the biggest independent news agencies in Russia, and said that he had discussed with Britain's prime minister mainly ways to encourage companies which want to develop cooperation with his country.

According to Karimov, he also discussed with the British leaders the situation in the Central Asian republics and in the CIS as a whole.

As a result of their talks in London Islam Karimov and John Major signed 4 agreements: on economic cooperation, on the encouragement and protection of investment, on air communication and on the freedom of movement in Uzbekistan for British diplomats, businessmen and journalists. The Uzbek president completes his visit after travelling to Manchester and Liverpool on Thursday.

Perhaps even greater impulse was received by Tashkent's links with private business. At their meeting on Wednesday Uzbek President Islam Karimov and British Prime Minister John Major initialled an agreement reached in principle between the Lonrho conglomerate and the government of Uzbekistan on developing the Amantaytau and Daughystay gold fields in the Kyzyl-Kum desert. The agreement will be implemented by a joint venture that will include Lonrho and two state-owned Uzbek companies

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Those who signed the agreement at the invitation of the two sides included Douglas Gustafson of the International Finance Corporation in Europe.

The director of Lonrho, Joe Platts-Mills, told Interfax that one hundred million dollars would be allocated for gold mining during the first phase of investment: 30 million would be granted by Lonrho, about 5 million by the International Finance Corporation, and the remaining 65 million would be obtained as a result of borrowings procured by the International Finance Corporation as a member of the World Bank.

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Earlier, on Tuesday, the Uzbek president deposited an undisclosed quantity of gold in Rothschilds' Bank, to guarantee that, should the investments of British businessmen prove to be unprofitable, their losses will be compensated for.

As Karimov said, Uzbekistan's assets in foreign banks already amount to about 500 million dollars. "We can easily bring their worth to one billion dollars," he said.

His country, the Uzbek leader pointed out, stands fourth in the world for prospected and confirmed gold resources (about 4 thousand tons), and seventh in production; besides, its gold is of the highest grade.

Uzbekistan has used only 12 of its 39 gold fields, he said. According to him, the country's mineral resources as a whole are worth one trillion dollars. As for oil, he said, we can not only meet our own requirements in it, but also export it in the future".

With reference to advantages in evidence in Uzbekistan in contrast to other former Soviet republics the president mentioned stability the other areas cannot boast of and the absence of debts. "Billions of dollars owed by the former Soviet republics do not relate to us," he explained. "We are highly solvent, we do not owe anything to anyone."

With reference to plans to introduce national monetary unit Karimov said that had Tashkent agreed to Russia's conditions for staying in the ruble zone, "not only ourselves, but also our children and grandchildren would have been Moscow's debtors," with the debt constantly growing. Uzbekistan's National Bank would have turned into a branch of Russia's Central Bank.

Uzbekistan's transition to its own currency will be "smooth," because Tashkent views only such an approach as acceptable, the president stressed.

He is in favor of a "gradual, evolutionary approach", he pointed out. "The shock therapy does not suit us... We do not like the word "revolution". We have gone through too many revolutions, and we do not need another one," Karimov said.

At the news conference in the Confederation of British Industries President Karimov was asked about his attitude to the danger of "Islamic extremism" mentioned by head of Russian diplomacy Andrey Kozyrev recently in the context of the Tajik problem. The Uzbek president conceded that such a danger exists. If the CIS countries had not exerted joint efforts, Tajikistan would have probably become an Islamic state of fundamentalist type by now, the Uzbek leader said. The 50,000 casualties in Tajikistan are indicative, he concluded.

## Armenia

### Baku Sees Kazimirov Incident as Herald of New Offensive

*NC2311160093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1025 GMT 23 Nov 93*

[Text] Baku, November 22 (SNARK)—TURAN News Agency told SNARK Rovshan Dzhamshidov, head of the Press and Information Department of the Azerbaijani Foreign Department, said to the journalists at the yesterday's briefing that the current important step in the process of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict regulation was torpedoed by the Armenian side which opened fire on November 20 to neutralize the Russian representative Vladimir Kazimirov's mission.

The Azerbaijani militaries were wounded in the conflict. Being under the danger the members of the Kazimirov's mission had no chance to come to Armenia. "The Armenian side violating the agreement on supplying the necessary security measures for the Russian representative's mission torpedoed the initiatives on the peaceful regulation of the conflict", Dzhamshidov said. He also said that Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister, commented on the incident saying that "such a barbarous action against the Russian representative can't be justified".

On November 20 Vladimir Kazimirov left Azerbaijan for Moscow.

The Azerbaijani military experts are of the opinion that the incident means the Armenian side is preparing the large-scale offensive in the direction of the Azerbaijani western regions. The last weeks the Azerbaijani military sources inform of the Armenian forces concentration at the Idzhevani part of the border. The Kazimirov's mission should cross the border in the mentioned part.

### Diplomat Says Kazimirov, Kozyrev Misled by Azerbaijan

*LD2411180593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Evidently the special envoy of Russia's president for resolving the Karabakh conflict, Vladimir Kazimirov, and subsequently the head of Russian diplomacy, Andrey Kozyrev, were misled, a senior Armenian diplomat told Interfax.

If the information of the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, which says in its statement that the first car accompanying Kazimirov was fired at in the area of Mazam-Ashagi-Askipara by Armenians, is correct, "it means that the Azerbaijanis brought the special envoy of Russia's president to the wrong locality," he said.

According to the diplomat, Kazimirov, who was going from Baku to Yerevan, was to cross the Armenian-Azeri border outside the city of Kazakh along the Kazakh-Idzhevan highway. "It's enough to look where the village of Ashagi-Askipara is located to realize that it was a totally different direction," the diplomat said.

Kazimirov did not know the locality well enough to determine his whereabouts, he said. "In the meantime this is what the entire version, which the Russian side repeated after the Azerbaijanis, and whose essence is that the Armenians, in contravention of earlier agreements, fired at the first car of Kazimirov's mission, is built on. The Armenians were expecting Kazimirov at the agreed-upon spot on the border, while the Azerbaijanis, unwittingly or with malicious intent, brought him to another area," the Armenian diplomat said.

### Government Ready To Apologize for Kazimirov Incident

*NC2511150793 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] The Armenian Government has issued a statement saying that it is ready to make a public apology if the Armenian side's culpability is established in connection with the incident involving Ambassador Kazimirov.

Noting that the Armenian military prosecutor is conducting an investigation, the Armenian Government has proposed to the Russian Government that it send a delegation to the region for a detailed investigation of the issue.

The Armenian Government also expressed the conviction that the incident would not obstruct the active continuation of Russia's efforts for a peace settlement for the Karabakh conflict.

### Government Issues Statement

*NC2511172793 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 25 Nov 93*

["Text" of Armenian Government statement issued in Yerevan on 23 November; read by announcer]

[Text] The Armenian Government deeply regrets the firing on the vehicle holding Ambassador Vladimir Kazimirov, President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy who has been assigned to carry out Russia's peace effort to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The incident occurred on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The Armenian Government notes that Azerbaijani officials changed the route that was agreed on with Russia's high-ranking diplomat prior to that incident, which could have caused a very tragic situation. Consequently, Ambassador Kazimirov and the officials who accompanied him traveled to another area and not to the agreed region. The Armenian officials waited to receive Ambassador Kazimirov in the place that had been agreed on.

Armenia's military procuracy has initiated an investigation into the incident. The Armenian Government has urged Russia's Government to dispatch a special committee to the region to investigate the incident in depth.

We are prepared to apologize if Armenia is found to be responsible for the inciden .

The Armenian Government is convinced that the undesirable incident will not affect the continuation of Russia's active peace efforts for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

### Kozyrev Reaction Viewed

*LD2611012193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1949 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] In an interview with Interfax, Armenian presidential spokesman Aram Abramian declined to make any long-term conclusions following Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's reaction to the statement of the Armenian government on November 23.

Abramian confirmed that the Armenian leadership regretted the incident on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border on November 20 when Armenian servicemen opened fire at a Russian diplomatic mission headed by the special presidential representative, Vladimir Kazimirov.

The spokesman hoped that "this deplorable incident will not prevent Russia from continuing its mediation efforts in the settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh."

In an interview with Interfax on November 24, Kozyrev expressed his unsatisfaction with the Armenian government's statement of November 23 which stated that the incident followed Azerbaijani representatives' changing the established route of the mission's way to Armenia. The Armenian government proposed a competent commission be sent to the region to thoroughly investigate the incident.

### Armenian, Karabakh Officials Discuss CSCE Plan

*NC2411195793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Representatives of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh met in Goris today to examine the CSCE Minsk Group's new schedule formulated in Vienna.

Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Supreme Council Chairman Babken Ararktsyan, Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan, First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan, and Davit Shakhnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador on special missions, took part in the meeting.

State Defense Committee Chairman Robert Kocharyan, Foreign Minister Arkadiy Gukasyan, and members of the Supreme Council Presidium took part on the Karabakh side.

### Karabakh Gives Positive Reply

*NC2511174693 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1547 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Yerevan, 25 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] gave a positive reply today to the schedule proposed in Vienna by the CSCE Minsk Group.

Karen Baburyan, acting chairman of NKR Supreme Council, signed off on the schedule and sent it to Mario Rafaelli, chairman of CSCE Minsk Group, with a covering letter.

### No Serious Differences Between Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh

*LD2511224593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh do not have serious differences over the new schedule for the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani armed conflict proposed by the CSCE Minsk Group, the Armenian presidential spokesman, Aram Abramyan, told Interfax. He said Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's meeting with the chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Committee, Robert Kacharyan, in the Armenian town of Goris on November 24 is another evidence of this fact.

Abramyan pointed out that the lack of crucial differences was "very gratifying and positive, evidence of the fact that the two sides regarded the world community's settlement efforts with understanding."

Sources in Stepanakert said Nagorno-Karabakh was expected to make public its attitude toward the CSCE plan which has already been accepted by Armenia and rejected by Azerbaijan.

In particular, the schedule envisions withdrawing Armenian forces from the Agdam, Fizuli, Dzhebrail, Kubatlin, Zangelan and Kelbadzhar districts of Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani troops from the Mardakert district of Nagorno-Karabakh, internationally supervised ceasefire and the Minsk Group's session to determine the political status of Nagorno-Karabakh.

### Azerbaijani 'Democrats' Send Letter to Clinton

*NC2611055493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1524 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Baku, November 25 (SNARK)— According to the Press Centre of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, Democratic Party Chairman Sadar Dzhalaloglu, on behalf of the democratic powers in Azerbaijan, sent a letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton on November 24.

The letter brings to light the political details of the Karabakh war while Azerbaijan was urged to receive the challenge. S. Dzhalaloglu noted that together with the U.S. political interests in Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan also has its interests relating [to] the United States. This interest, in S. Dzhalaloglu words, is that Azerbaijan needs in the U.S. support in its war for freedom and independence.

S. Dzhalaloglu expressed his adherence to President Clinton's words that national cleansing must not bump people's movement toward independence and freedom.

### New Currency Introduced at Inauspicious Time

*MK2411151093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 3*

[Armen Khanbabyan report under the "Armenia" rubric: "National Currency Introduced. Its Viability Will Also Depend on Politicians From Stepanakert"]

[Text] Speaking on national television and radio, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan emphasized that the introduction of a new currency was a forced measure. He called it a hard ordeal for the people. "We have done our utmost to form a ruble zone by civilized, mutually acceptable actions, but owing to Russia's rigid stance and its uncoordinated policy the process of breaking up the old financial system has slipped out of control, which is what has prompted a review of all our approaches," the Armenia leader said. At the same time, the president pointed out that it is not the republics of the former Union that quit the ruble zone, but in fact Russia itself.

The concern evident in Levon Ter-Petrosyan's address is entirely explicable. A national currency has been introduced at the most unauspicious time and in the most unfavorable conditions. Virtually all the scanty hard-currency reserves have been spent on purchasing energy resources and food. Unemployment is on the increase. Social safety nets are still in an embryonic state. Considerable resources continue to be diverted to defense and the fortification of border areas. The continuing standoff in Karabakh has made international financial organizations distrustful of Armenia. There are fears that the republic will not get credits for the stabilization of its currency in the near future. Competent sources in the government reported that the main condition for obtaining such credits will be the cessation of military pressure on Azerbaijan by the Karabakhis.

The demand is evidently unjustifiable, because Yerevan is not in command of Karabakhi formations—far from it. Nonetheless, currently the viability of the Armenian dram has effectively been made dependent on the line of conduct of the military and politicians in Stepanakert. Obviously, in Yerevan they understand the complexity of the emerging situation. People here clearly regret the lost opportunities: the drams were printed as early as 18 months ago, when the international community was ready to guarantee their stability provided Armenia seriously embarked on the path of economic independence. But at that time this move was prevented by Moscow's promises to do everything possible to normalize the situation and to create a West European-style common market within the Commonwealth. At present, the government has to review its entire economic policy in a serious fashion. In particular, drastic reform is expected to take place in the banking sector (chiefs of Armenia's three largest banks have already been replaced), the country's taxation system will be revamped, and the budget adjusted. According to the president, "any attempted speculative currency trading during the transitional period, various sorts of encroachments will be stopped in the most decisive fashion." Still, the Armenian authorities continue to pin hopes on some form of economic integration within the CIS and express their readiness for further cooperation, which can hardly be dismissed as mere political declarations given present-day conditions.

The new currency started circulating in Armenia on 22 November. Starting from that same day, the circulation of old 1-, 5-, and 10- ruble notes was completely banned. Banknotes up to 500 rubles will remain in circulation to be used as small change. Since the old money will be exchanged for new at 200:1, an old 200-ruble banknote will play the role of a one-dram coin. Each adult citizen is entitled to exchange 50,000 rubles.

## Azerbaijan

### Russian Envoy Comments on Kazimirov Incident

*NC2411163793 Baku TURAN in English 1435 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Baku, November 23 [as received] (TURAN) - "Russia lost its patience. To lift a hand against Russian diplomat holding peacemaking mission in the region means destruction of any opportunity for political settlement,"—told Russian Ambassador to Baku Valter Shoniya to TURAN Agency.

As V. Shoniya told, this military action of Armenian party against Russian ambassador means that "people do not want political settlement." "It will be not true to say that all is accidental and only insubordinate units are to blame,"—told V. Shoniya.

Russian ambassador stressed, "Armenian party had to define or it stands for political settlements with all ensuing perspectives, or it against this resolution with all ensuing difficult consequences."

As V. Shoniya told, "The matter is very serious, it is the matter of peace and war, the matter of future Armenian nation." He pointed out that "this obvious national fundamentalism can lead to the deadlock, to self-destruction."

### Defense Ministries Deny Dispatch of Russian Troops

*NC2411172593 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] The Russian and Azerbaijani Defense Ministries have officially denied a report on the dispatch of Russian troops to Azerbaijan.

### Foreign Minister Objects to Points in CSCE Schedule

*NC2411193693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov today received Matias Mosberg, the personal representative of the current CSCE Chairman Margaretha af Ugglas, and exchanged views on the CSCE Minsk Group's schedule of urgent measures.

Gasanov said Azerbaijan finds some points in the schedule unacceptable, adding that the Minsk Group should not decide the fate of Azerbaijani land, but should instead help to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

### CSCE Envoy Comments on Mediation Effort

*NC2511193293 Baku TURAN in English 1322 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Baku November 25 (TURAN)—"CSCE does not intend to rival Russia in regulation of the Armenian-Azeri conflict," Mathias Mosberg, the special envoy of the acting chairman of the CSCE told reporters at the briefing before leaving Baku.

M. Mosberg arrived to Baku on Tuesday, the next day after Azerbaijan rejected the revised variant of the "schedule of urgent measures" on regulation the Armenian-Azeri conflict worked out by the CSCE Minsk group. During the short visit to Baku he met with Afiaddin Dzhalilov, the vice-chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, Gasan Gasanov, the foreign minister, and Abas Absov, the vice-premier.

To M. Mosberg's words, "the CSCE aspires to maintain the common efforts and to work out a unitized coordinated approach to the regulation of the conflict, using all the potential of Russia."

M. Mosberg said, that during the talks with the Azeri leadership together with the "schedule of urgent measures" the humanitarian assistance to Azerbaijan, in particular, the situation of the refugees was discussed.

As M. Mosberg said, besides the talks, he visited the foreign embassies and the representation of the UNO [UN Organization] during his visit to Baku. Mr. Mosberg stressed that he intends "to bring all the information he got there to the CSCE chairman's notice."

M. Mosberg also said, that the CSCE's position is "to solve all the problems and moot points through negotiations, and the course of these negotiations have to satisfy both the parties to the conflict". The CSCE will carry on the efforts till consensus will be reached, he said.

According to M. Mosberg's words, the warring parties shoulder the responsibility for solving the conflict. "The CSCE may reach a constant peace only on the agreement of all the parties to the conflict", he stressed. Touching upon the recent incident with the Russian president's envoy Vladimir Kazimirov at the Azeri-Armenian border Mosberg said: "We are shocked by this incident. The firing of the Russian envoy by the Armenian party is inadmissible from the standpoint of the international norms."

Last night M. Mosberg left Baku.

### 'No Information' on Guseynov Resignation

*LD2411175793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Quoting its correspondent in Azerbaijan, Radio Liberty has reported that Azerbaijan Prime Minister Surat Guseynov has tendered his resignation. The correspondent the resubordination of all military formations to the republican president is one of the reasons. As is known, one of Guseynov's conditions for becoming prime minister is that he should be supreme commander.

When we contacted the Azerbaijani Embassy in Moscow we were told that official Baku has no information of this kind.

### Guseynov Attends Meeting on Social Tension

*LD2411192193 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] A conference on formulating ways to reduce social tension, which has arisen in connection with the rise in bread and fuel prices, was held today at the presidential office. Taking part in the work of the conference were Prime Minister Suret Guseynov, State Secretary Lala Shovket Gadzhiyeva, Supreme Soviet Chairman Rasul Guliyev, deputy prime ministers and parliament speakers, members of the milli mejlis, ministers, the republic's prosecutor general, ministers [as received], and heads of state companies and main directorates. [passage omitted]

The reasons for the current serious situation were discussed and ways for emerging from it were outlined. Note was taken of the fact that the main task today is to ensure the timely payment to the population of the compensation stipulated, and also wages.

### Attends Meeting on Bread Prices

*NC2411192893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev chaired a meeting today with the participation of the ministers, heads of the main departments, officials from the banking and financial system and the heads of companies.

Opening the meeting, the Azerbaijani president explained again why the state was taking measures to improve the people's living conditions following the increase in the prices of bread, bread products, and fuel.

He noted that there are objective and subjective reasons for smuggling goods, the prices of which are lower than abroad, from a republic that is waging a war. This must be prevented by law at a time of soaring inflation and deepening economic crisis. The failure to readjust prices on time is forcing the state to increase prices. The president noted that the state is taking urgent measures to ensure the people are protected socially and concrete steps to improve things for the less protected sector of the population.

Galib Agayev, the president of the Azerbaijan National Bank, [one-minute break in audio transmission; the announcer continues in progress] ... and the Finance Minister Saleh Mamedov in their statements again explained the price increases. It was said that the state treasury has far less resources than expected, which makes it difficult to meet the population's cash demands. Serious problems exist in commercial shops and in enterprises. Many goods are piled up in warehouses. Because the prices of some goods in our Republic are lower than the international prices, foodstuffs and daily consumer goods and even strategic products are being taken out of the Republic to be sold abroad. Some organizations and individuals are particularly active in this business.

The Republic's Prosecutor General Ali Omerov discussed serious irregularities and criminal activities connected with supplying bread to the population and said that $8 million earmarked for importing grain has been squandered. An investigation has been opened into such cases.

A long exchange of views took place at the meeting on alleviating the people's social problems and on solving the problems in the service sector.

Rasul Guliyev, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Prime Minister Suret Guseynov, State Secretary Lala Shovket Gazdhiyeva, and other officials addressed the meeting.

President Geydar Aliyev summed up the results of the meeting. [Video shows the meeting in session, Geydar Aliyev and officials addressing the meeting, and Suret Guseynov sitting at a table with the others.]

## Aliyev Criticizes Bread, Fuel Price Hikes

*LD2511222993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan has levelled criticism at the republic's government owing to price rises for bread and fuel.

Speaking Wednesday, he said that the government was conducting an ill-conceived price rise campaign.

Aliyev said that the government should have given compensation payments to soften the consequences for low income people.

Neimat Panakhov of the presidential administration has said that there were not yet compensation payments for the population. Noting the growth of popular discontent, he did not rule out possible social revolts in Azerbaijan.

Opposition sources say that warning strikes took place in Sumgait and Baku. Workers demanded pay rises.

Finance Minister Salekh Mamedov has said that the country has a shortage of cash. Another batch of the national currency - some 20 billion manats - will be delivered to Azerbaijan late in December. As the first-aid measure,the minister proposed that bonds be used as a means of payment.

Vakhid Akhundov, the president's aide, has said that the measure may add to inflation.

He proposed instead to increase interest rates for deposits in banks.

Aliyev ordered that the government consider both proposals and work out an compromise version.

Prime Minister Surat Guseynov is expected to order that bonds to the sum of 12 billion manats be put in circulation in the republic. They must be given as pay to the population before December 4, when another batch of new banknotes comes from France. The state debt to the population (salaries and other payments) amounts to 12 billion manats.

## Armenians Seize Settlement on Iranian Border

*LD2511173193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku November 25 TASS—Armenian armed units launched a major offensive in three directions on Thursday and seized the Azeri settlement of Khudaferin on the Azeri-Iranian border, the Security Ministry of Azerbaijan reported.

It added that the offensive was launched from Azeri territories earlier occupied by Armenians and that infantry and armoured units were used in the attacks.

The frontier troops of Azerbaijan deployed in the area had to abandon the settlement under the pressure of the overwhelming forces, according to the ministry which said that two Azeri soldiers were killed and four wounded in combat.

## Afghan Mojahedin Said Fighting Against Armenia

*LD2511162493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] There are reports that up to 1500 Afghan mojahedin are in Azerbaijan now, taking part in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the Azerbaijani side. INTERFAX learned this from a senior official in Russia's Foreign Ministry who deals with problems concerning that region.

As the official said, Russia tried to verify these reports and obtain explanations in Baku, specifically in the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry. "However the high-ranking Azerbaijani diplomat interviewed by our representative evaded reply."

According to him, if the reports concerning mujaheddin prove to be true, this will mean that "the conflict reached a new phase, and its internationalization is in evidence." "If events continue to develop under this scenario, the gloomiest predictions may materialize, and Nagorno-Karabakh will embark on the road covered by the long-suffering Lebanon," he said.

### Primakov Denies Afghans Fighting

*NC2511174393 Baku TURAN in English 1322 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Baku November 25 (TURAN)—As Moscow's correspondent of TURAN reports, at today's Moscow press-conference leader of External Investigation Office of Russian Federation Yevgeniy Primakov denied the announcements about Afghan Mojahedin fighting with Azeri Army.

He told that these facts "are probably exaggerated".

### Ambassador Views Iran's Help for Azerbaijan's Refugees

*LD2411141193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0900 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Interview with Iranian Ambassador to Azerbaijan 'Ali Akbar Nehavandian by correspondent Nariman Gahramanly; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gahramanly] Your excellency, as is known, the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan has been going on for five years. In the conditions of this five-year long war, 25 percent of the territory of Azerbaijan has been occupied and a larger section of this occupied territory is on the border with Iran. We have many refugees. It is known to all people of Azerbaijan that Iran and Turkey and other states are helping the refugees. However, in this help Iran is leading others these days and is showing devotion. Today, what kind of help are you giving to the refugees and what kind of difficulties are you experiencing?

[Nehavandian] In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful, two months ago I signed a contract on behalf of the Iranian Government, and from your side Deputy Prime Minister 'Ali Masimov signed it. We came to the conclusion that for 100,000 refugees, we should provide all facilities, we should provide everything for them such as tents, covers, clothing, food, and medicine. However, from your side a place should be allocated, streets should be paved, and tents should be supplied with electricity, water, and fuel. These things should be supplied by you. Also, the Azerbaijani side should undertake security, because these settlements are located inside the territory of Azerbaijan.

The aim of enemies are that these settlements should be on the territory of Iran. They had bad dreams about you. They wanted it like in the case of the Palestinians, who 50 years ago left their homes and went to other countries where they were said to be living temporarily, but they have not been able to return to their country for 50 years, and after agreement was reached recently, only two percent of their territory has been returned to them under limited conditions, while 98 percent has remained under the occupation of the enemy, they too had worked out such an ill-intentioned plan for your Zangilan, Fizuli, and Jabrayil. They wanted them to go to the territory of Iran and remain there. However, we and your genius leadership understood the enemy's plan and joined efforts—all Azerbaijan refugees were settled inside the territory of Azerbaijan and we brought help to your country.

It would be easier for us if it were in Iran, we could spend in Iran whatever we are spending now. It would be much easier for us. However we doubled our efforts and brought them to your territory, since we considered your welfare, the welfare of your people. For example, if we had set up a settlement on Iranian territory, it would be much easier for us from the security point of view. However, now we have warehouses, as shown on television two or three days ago, and thieves come to these warehouses where we have stored food for your refugees and steal it. If this were in Iran, not a single person could steal anything. We have increased our efforts by taking into consideration not your short-term, but long-term interests, so that Azerbaijani citizens live only in the Republic of Azerbaijan, so that they can return home as soon as possible. So far, in Imishli, Sabirabad, and [name indistinct], these settlements have started functioning. Our doctors are busy treating a few thousand people. We took by cars, buses, with much respect to Imishly, to the territory of Azerbaijan those who had escaped to Iran. We helped more than 50,000 people. We put their animals on trucks and brought them to the territory of Azerbaijan. As Governor of Parsabad 'Ali Nezhad has told me, carrying freight alone had cost more than 11 million tumans, this is equal to 15 million manat or 150 million rubles. This was only for three or four days when they hired vehicles to help people settle. Therefore, you can understand how much expenses will be for 100,000 refugees when they are provided with tents, clothing, and food from morning until night. You have families, I do not have to explain this to you.

Therefore, when the names of countries that give assistance are mentioned, it is not correct to mention names of one country, which gives one kopek, together with the name of another that gives one billion. In Azerbaijan, only the Iranian settlements regularly help our Muslim brothers and sisters.

[Gahramanly] This service, as everyone knows, is provided without expecting any return.

[Nehavandian] Yes.

[Gahramanly] Thank you for all this help. I believe that saying thank you very much is not enough. We hope that we finish this war, I mean that this war will end and everyone will live on their own territory. We hope you will regard as justifiable all the trouble you are taking for the people of independent Azerbaijan, for the people of Azerbaijan who are living through the war and are suffering.

[Nehavandian] I too thank you for your trouble and I hope that Almighty God will help our Muslim brothers and sisters and that they return home soon with victory, and that they restore their country, and that we have as a neighbor a proud, honorable, powerful, and free Republic of Azerbaijan so that we can be proud of it.

## Georgia

### Shevardnadze Walks Out of Parliament in Protest

*LD2511161893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze has left the plenary session of parliament which resumed its work today after a two-month recess caused by the state of emergency. Deputies were to approve or reject Shevardnadze's decree on extending the state of emergency for a further two months. The Georgian leader's protest was caused by the fact that during the debate the opposition accused him of aggravating the political and economic crisis in the republic and also of alienating parliament from affairs. According to Shevardnadze's proposal, INTERFAX explains, parliament was to have met again only in January to adopt a new constitution and to set parliamentary elections.

### Address to Parliament Reported

*LD2611002993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1410 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Speech by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze to the Supreme Council in Tbilisi on 25 November—recorded]

[Text] [Shevardnadze] Sirs, as parliament has adopted the decision on declaring the state of emergency in the republic, that in itself speaks for the atmosphere and the conditions under which our people, our population, and the whole of the country has to live and work. Therefore, I do not think it is necessary for me to describe in my short speech this situation by bringing the figures and the data illustrating the economic hardship and with what calamitous results the definite stage of events in Abkhazia has ended; all this has already been spoken about, as well as the conflicting tendencies of our society's political life. It is clear to our parliament and each one of you and I will not dwell on it.

I will say that earlier there had been proposals to introduce the state of emergency, there had been many discussions, both at parliament sessions and there was a public point of view but the authorities did not hasten in this connection. We made this decision in parliament after we had made sure that there was no other alternative. This was considered by parliament to be the only measure for saving the country from destruction.

When we were making this decision and we were suggesting its submission... [pauses] The aim of this measure as I understood it then and I understand it now is to save the country from destruction, to save the country from falling apart, society and the state from disconnection.

Unfortunately, I must tell you that a definite part of our society and also maybe some of you did not realize in the past and maybe do not realize today either the danger and the menace of this terrible phenomenon, which I call the disintegration and disconnection of the country at the scale at which it exists in reality.

It is not by chance that I am making this forward. One of the key aims, of the majority of parliament anyway, and myself included, was to eradicate the impending attack of the many well-armed gangs of the former president's supporters, their military, political, and moral defeat, the further consolidation of the citizens of Georgia, and on the basis of this, to fight for the unity of the country and the nation.

Dark doings committed either by conscious or lost supporters of the former president and their rampage in Georgia will become, or more precisely, has become a subject for special investigation and this work must be brought to an end.

Such investigation, a full-scale, highly professional and fair one, is in the interests of present and future generations. Justice and the public point of view must return a final verdict to such a fascist and shameful phenomenon as Gamsakhurdia, and his blind followers' activities, this dark force, the unhealed, deep wounds of which will probably be suffered by generations. The provincial fascism that was dragging our people toward the medieval darkness and this danger are still here. I think this malady and this plague can be estimated only in this way. If we are talking about justice and court of law, I can imagine forever-living Merab Mamardashvili [famous Georgian philosopher whose profound ideas about the concepts of nationalism and citizenship got misinterpreted by Gamsakhurdia and his followers and was proclaimed an enemy of the nation—Mamardashvili died of a heart-attack] as the main prosecutor; he is the conscience of our people and our nation, I mean it symbolically, of course.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his followers must answer for...[changes thought] It does not include the blind and the lost who have come to realize it, realized as to what they were doing. Our policy will not change in connection with them.

I would like to remind you, recall, why was guarding the railways in Abkhazia, at the Enguri banks in Samegrelo and generally in the whole of Georgia put on the agenda? Mass lootings near the Enguri banks and in Abkhazia as well, of our and others' property, the looting, which was nearly legalized then, hundreds of echelons got looted, properties of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Georgia... [pauses] many have forgotten that a large portion of the looted goods were kept in Gudauta, in the Gudauta Rayon. Investigators who arrived from other countries unearthed in Gudauta Rayon property worth more than 3 billion [currency not specified], which was the property of Armenia and other countries; kidnapping of officials, killings, sabotage, terrorist acts.

Then, and earlier, the famous alliance between Gamsakhurdia and Ardzinba shaped out in the same way as this alliance was obvious during the adoption of an apartheid-like law on the elections in the Abkhaz Supreme Council. Many things assisted the adoption of this law, some people want to blame fully only one of the authors of the law, this will not do. Everyone who could have spoken up then and did not do so will answer for it. Many calamities could then have been avoided.

I hope that the investigation will estimate Gamsakhurdia's and his supporters' betrayal in Abkhazia during the war. If it had not been for this betrayal, Abkhazia would not have been lost. I am confident that the investigation will be able to prove it by using facts, and the analysis, the analysis carried out by the cold mind. Jurisdiction will give everything its proper names, the betrayal of our people's interests.

The alliance with Kobalia was our mistake. We were acting only in good faith for the people. It was an attempt to rescue the country, to rescue the state from disintegration and restore unity and integrity but it turned out to be a mistake. It is not possible to cooperate with immoral and aimless people. It will always end with such calamitous results as we have had. The investigation must tell the truth about how Kobalia had been given a large materiel, by the way, nobody is saying a word about it, all kinds of arms, all kinds, material valuables, the whole echelon. It will be a subject for special investigation.

A lot of things are known to me and many of my colleagues but not to society. Many things will become clear and will be confirmed. I will not hide from you that I was feeling and seeing that a large- scale military adventure and attacks on Kutaisi and Tbilisi were inevitable. We have been making all kinds of amendments to the agenda today and none of you has even remembered to say a couple of words about this fact; I repeat, the attacks on Kutaisi and Tbilisi, I repeat once again, were inevitable, which means the attacks aimed at Georgia's downfall, her full disintegration, and her full decay. Such danger and storms had been started. It had been prepared for months.

When they argue with me as to why the Security Ministry had been set up, it had been set up in order that the storming of Kutaisi and Tbilisi would not be allowed to happen. It had been created in order to set up such mechanisms and structures that will, together with other structures, if not today then tomorrow, definitely secure a non-appearance of such force in society. They [opponents] are giving this issue very little thought. If I have made some mistakes, I will be responsible before the country, her people, my conscience, and future generations. Let nobody look in this for a criminal offense or an act of political crime. The country had to be saved from falling apart, from disintegration and disaster. By the way, after I had made a decision on creating the guard, later on, we still went on discussing... When it is inexpedient, the decision is made and then annulled, but it was happening in those days when the force was near Kutaisi, and you know very well who was behind that force; I would have signed any decision if I got as few as 200 people. You know very well which occupants were standing behind the Army. Nobody has [word indistinct] about those occupants.

Transferring the country to emergency mode was necessary in order to disrupt this adventure. I repeat, I knew this would happen. This task of guarding the country is more or less being carried out, I am not saying that it has been carried out, it is being carried out and it must be brought to an end. In a way, I would call the present government the government of the state of emergency, which has to act and is acting during the emergency situations.

It must be said that the present government managed the most complex tasks of preventing this military attack on Kutaisi and Tbilisi and the adventure. Those people who suffered the same difficulties with us and those who know how fuel, combat equipment, foodstuffs, and clothing were being collected for those boys who saved Georgia from disintegration and separation will agree with me. Disaster has happened, hundreds of thousands of people have ended up in the mountains, in the Svaneti mountains. Svaneti was the disaster area that had been proclaimed one. The government managed to save these people from extermination, physical extermination, elimination. Many have died, may they be remembered forever. Hundreds of thousands of people have been rescued which, by the way, was not properly covered either by television or movies or anyone. People have been rescued and I would like to express my thanks for the first time. I am thanking you, Otar Patsatsia, Boris Saralidze, and others who shared the same fate as the refugees. I would like to address our Armed Forces with words of gratitude today, the Defense Ministry, its leadership and units, Mkhedrioni, the internal troops, the police who are still on guard there, and volunteers from every part of the country for their contribution toward saving Georgia.

The rayons of Imereti, Guria, and Samegrelo have, on the whole, been cleared from a great number of the Zviadists and the foreign and Abkhaz mercenaries, on the whole, I repeat, but the work as I have told you has to be brought to an end.

Complications are still to be expected but the main part of our task has already been done. At last, Samegrelo will sigh with relief, Samegrelo about which we have talked a lot in this hall and not only in this hall, Samegrelo, which went through so many things and such pain. Our aim is to assist Samegrelo, take care of it, the authorities will be thoughtful. I am probably repeating it for the umpteenth time that Samegrelo is one of the cornerstones of our country's unity and integrity. If these rayons had been cleared from this black force, the black plague, believe me, Abkhazia would not have been lost. Every citizen who is reasonable and sound- minded will confirm it.

Blood has been shed and many died in this fight against the black force on either side, but still, this historical task is being carried out with relatively fewer casualties, relatively fewer, although it is difficult to talk about fewer casualties even if we are dealing with one person's life. It is really so, I myself made sure. I was there for 12 days and saw every rayon there except two, which I will make up for and go and visit those rayons. I made sure that the population of this part, like the majority of the population of Georgia, 80-90 percent, understands well the concern of the authorities, our mistakes, and they have gratefully forgiven us our mistakes. Today the population of this rayon supports the authorities and will continue to do so in future if we keep on fighting for the interests of the country honestly, in the same way as we are doing now. They will support the authorities, I am confident.

I know, many will feel uncomfortable to hear this but if we are realists we have to say that had there been no cooperation with so-called, as Nodar Natadze says, occupational troops, had we not taken the decision and had the majority of the parliament not supported the idea of Georgia joining the CIS, who knows how all this would have ended. Many things would be in doubt and under a question mark now. Let us face life as it exists in reality.

I was in Western Georgia during the civil war. There are many of those who are sitting in this hall there with me.

They will confirm how significant were the few pickets [of Russian troops], even symbolically. How significant was the temporary deployment of those units for the town of Poti and the inhabitants of Poti. Those who do not believe can go and ask Poti inhabitants. Ask them and they will tell you what it meant for them.

Therefore, I ask everyone to consider all that happened and is happening with cool mind if we want to prevent complications in future and if we want to solve the problem all of us dream of being solved. This is the ultimate unification and the restoration of the unity and integrity of Georgia.

I am going back to what I have said already, the investigation must bring out into broad daylight those forces that have reanimated Zviadists' movement. Backing Zviadism means ignoring, I am not using another word, the interests of the country. I think that the extension of the state of emergency for two months [words indistinct], if anyone is displeased by this, it is a different matter. I am sure that if it had not been for the state of emergency and the emergency mode and the total mobilization of our forces, both of soul and material, we would not have solved this task. This is the main result.

The extension of the state of emergency for two months means that we must beat this plague once and for all in our own country and then we may solve other tasks so that in the long run we beat it [Zviadism] politically, morally, and from the political point of view, beat it in the fullest sense of the word.

The extension of the state of emergency for two months means the beginning of the second stage of the emergency mode. We must start it, all of us together, the whole of the society, the law- enforcement bodies and, I repeat, the whole of the society. The key aim of the second stage will be to eliminate mafia and bandit syndicates, yes, such syndicates have been set up in Georgia; not to say the least about the fact that people are disturbed, the population is terrified. We must save the people from the claws of these mafia clans. It is the simple truth that there will be no market economy, no business, and no investments until order is established, if highways, railways, and ports are not guarded and if moving about is not safe. Will two months be enough for this? It is difficult to say. Anyway, we must deliver a decisive blow to these syndicates and it can be done. I repeat, it will be the second stage of our fight, and one more regulation. I am not going to spell it out. Please, pay attention. If we go through the second stage in an organized manner and with aspirations and carry out what has to be carried out, it will help us to be ready for solving the Abkhaz issue by every means. Of course, every normal person—let me tell you something else before I go any further. There have been fair demands here; the ministers, the leaders of the so-called force-wielding ministries must take the floor, if they are not ready, let them do so some other time, and they must tell us about, I know that they have plans and that they have started taking practical measures, organized their work, relative forces have been found and there are available resources. Today we are talking about everyone being equal before law, everyone must be responsible before the law; people are demanding more strictness, and quite rightly too. Law must be applied to life. It is difficult for me to say this, as inwardly I am against capital punishment but I think that the acting legislation today must be functioning.

I would like to remind you in this connection that the state council has adopted the decision and nobody has changed it, only parliament can change it. If you do not agree, let us discuss the issue and then I may change it, but I cannot see grounds for doing so. It must be defined that the present legislation is in force on the territory of the republic of Georgia, including the system and kinds of punishment until they are annulled or changed in accordance with the adopted laws, it concerns [word indistinct] capital punishment. If parliament does not agree with it, then, let us adopt another decision. The vast majority of the population is for the implementation and operation of the law on capital punishment.

Talking about Abkhazia, of course, every normal human being gives preference to peaceful solutions. However, we must also take into account that it is difficult today to speak about trust in agreements reached in the peaceful atmosphere of talks. We have received extremely serious and bitter lessons. You know this, and we must remember this.

Therefore, the state must be ready for everything. Such measures will be taken, and such measures are being implemented in practice. What is happening in Azhara rayon [eastern Abkhazia]—there has already been an attack by Abkhaz extremists there, I am talking about the region of Svanetian Abkhazia [the mountains in the eastern part of Abkhazia still populated by ethnic Georgians, Svanetians]. We have received reports of casualties, people have been killed. I think that the defense minister should take urgent measures, together with us, in order to protect the population, to protect our border guards who still remain there and to create all the conditions for their safety.

It is noteworthy that all this is happening in advance of the Geneva meeting [peace talks between Georgians and Abkhazians set for the end of November]. This again displays their morals, something that we know rather well. This is why, I repeat it, we must be ready for everything.

During the process of our fight for the country's sovereignty and unity lately, forces have shaped out, on the one hand, the ones that had been evicted from the political arena in Russia, Rutskoy and Khasbulatov...[incomplete sentence as heard] Listen to Zhirinovskiy, whose one of many bases was in Abkhazia. [rest of speech unheard due to break in transmission]

### Parliament To Extend State of Emergency

*LD2511173593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 25 TASS—After stormy debates the Georgian Parliament decided on Thursday [25 November] to back Eduard Shevardnadze's decree extending a state of emergency for another two months—until January 20, 1994.

But this time the lawmakers refused to prolong parliamentary recess and voted to continue their sessions.

### Talks on Abkhazia To Resume 30 Nov

*LD2511230293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1949 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] The Georgian parliament has decided to resume discussion of the Abkhazian situation on November 30. At the Thursday night session the deputies could not agree whether they should express their views as a statement or as a resolution.

They agreed, however, that the final document would include a demand that the Abkhazian authorities let all refugees, Georgian and others, to return to Abkhazia and stop settling people in the houses and flats of Georgian refugees.

About 100,000 people are believed to have left Abkhazia in the wake of the September Abkhazian offensive.

### Spokesman Responds to U.S. View on Rights Violations

*LD2411235993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 2050 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] ITAR-TASS today circulated information that the U.S. State Department warned Georgia in connection with alleged violations of human rights. This information was later broadcast by the "Vesti" newscast.

A SAKINFORM correspondent asked Gela Charkviani, the head of state's chief adviser and the head of the international department, to comment on this issue.

As far as we are informed, Gela Charkviani said, the State Department has not made any such statement. At a briefing held by a U.S. State Department official a journalist asked whether there were cases of violation of human rights in Georgia. No answer was given to this question at the briefing. Later, the State Department gave the journalist a written answer to his question. The answer explained the current situation in Georgia and spoke of possible violations under the context of the existing state of emergency.

The chief state adviser reiterated that the U.S. State Department has not issued any official statement on this issue.

The written answer to the journalist's question will soon be received and published.

As for the statement made by ITAR-TASS on behalf of the State Department claiming that priority importance for the law and human rights is a fundamental principle of U.S. relations with any of the newly independent states, we can admit that this is an absolutely correct and objective approach to the problem. The Georgian authorities share and support this idea and confirm it with their actual political policy.

### Cabinet of Ministers Discusses South Ossetia

*LD2411233793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] The press service of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers informed the CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY that a meeting of the government commission for studying problems of the Tskhinvali region was held in the Cabinet of Ministers today. The commission is headed by Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia. Heads of all ministries and departments are participating in the activities of the commission.

Information about the situation in the Tskhinvali region was presented by the head of state's envoy in the Tskhinvali region, Omar Eloshvili. He said that each inhabitant of the Liakhvi ravine [the only area where Georgians still live] requires care and minimal living conditions. If the entire population leaves the Liakhvi ravine, we will face the danger of losing Samachablo [South Ossetia] as a whole.

The meeting discussed economic problems existing in the Tskhinvali region, and work done by various ministries and departments. Otar Patsatsia emphasized that, despite the fact that the tragedy that occurred in Abkhazia made us forget Samachablo for some time, we have to keep in mind that the problem of Samachablo is a problem for Georgia on the whole, and it is necessary to tackle the situation in the Tskhinvali region with more sense of responsibility.

## Delegation to Geneva Talks With Abkhaz Side Named

*LD2511163393 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1240 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, 25 Nov—According to IBERIA news agency, Jaba Ioseliani has been appointed head of the Georgian delegation to the upcoming Geneva talks with the Abkhaz side by decision of the head of state. His deputy will be Aleksandre Kavsadze. The delegation will also include Georgia's Deputy Foreign Minister Mikheil Ukleba and Professor Levan Aleksidze.

## Two Russian Servicemen Wounded in Tbilisi

*LD2511133993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Unidentified people fired on an ambulance of the 405th Russian Motorised Regiment stationed in a Tbilisi suburb last night, ITAR-TASS learnt at the press centre of the Group of Russian Troops in Transcaucasia.

The attackers fled when fire was returned. As a result of the incident, two Russian servicemen were wounded.

They were whisked off to a military hospital. Their condition is stable.

Military police in Tbilisi took urgent measures to track down the attackers.

## Abkhaz Forces Strengthen Defensive Positions

*LD2411142093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] Recent events in western Georgia pushed the so-called Abkhaz problem into the background for a while. However, now that combat operations have ceased in Mingrelia, experts and observers have again turned their attention to the area of Georgian-Abkhaz confrontation, all the more so since, according to news agency reports, it is to this region that certain subunits of supporters of former President Gamsakhurdia have retreated. Nikolay Mamulashvili reports.

[Mamulashvili] According to a report from official Georgian sources, former President Gamsakhurdia and units of his comrades-in-arms are in hiding in Galskiy rayon in Abkhazia. The majority of experts believe that should clashes resume in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone the armed Zviadists will be fighting on the side of the Abkhaz-North Caucasian formations. As far as this general prospect is concerned, it is perfectly realistic. The same sources are saying that the Abkhaz side is continuing to concentrate its men and equipment along the Inguri river, which separates Georgia and Abkhazia.

According to information from the Georgian Defense Ministry, engineering works are proceeding at top speed in Galskiy rayon in the autonomous republic. Abkhaz formations are making extensive defense preparations. Various fortifications, traps, minefields, and the like are being built. I would recall that some time ago the Abkhaz side formed its own border troops and put up details and posts along the Inguri river, which produced a categorical protest from the Georgian borderguards' commanders.

It is hard to say how things will develop. For its part, the Georgian side is strengthening its positions along the Inguri. This is being done first and foremost to stop the raids made on border villages from time to time by the armed Zviadists who have found refuge in Abkhazia.

## Situation in Western Georgia 'Returning to Normal'

*LD2411171893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The situation in western Georgia is returning to normal. This conclusion was drawn by Georgian Prime Minister Otari Patsatsia, who today completed his working tour of Mengrelia. He met local residents and had a meeting with the heads of local administrations, ITAR-TASS was informed by officials of the press centre of the Georgian Interior Ministry by telephone today.

According to the same source, the normalisation process in the region is being ensured by the active efforts of law enforcement forces, commanded by Deputy Interior

Minister Georgiy Gulua. Their task is to disarm the ex-president's supporters. At the same time, according to information received from the press centre, the command of the government troops and the local authorities are conducting negotiations with leaders of separate groups of Zviadists in an effort to make them disarm voluntarily. More sober-minded leaders of the opposition have realised the futility of further resistance and are beginning to disarm. For instance, a large detachment of Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who found asylum in nearby woods, voluntarily surrendered to the authorities near the mountain village of Mukhuri on Tuesday. They surrendered one tank, one missile launcher, and large quantities of small arms to the government troops.

### Situation Along Abkhaz Border 'Remains Tense'

*LD2411201493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1739 GMT 24 Nov 93*

[Text] The situation on the Georgian-Abkhazian border along the Inguri River remains tense, Chief of the Abkhazian Defense Ministry's General Staff Major General Sergey Dbar told Interfax. He said that Georgia was actively engaged in reconnaissance operations. Instances of saboteurs penetrating into Abkhazia have been registered, he said.

He announced that armored equipment which Russia had recently passed over to Georgia had been moved from Tbilisi to Zugdidi (a city on the border with Abkhazia).

To quote Dbar, Abkhazian armed forces are getting ready to rebuff possible aggression. Abkhazian aircraft make daily training flights. Fortifications have been built along the Inguri River.

### Radio Reports New Abkhaz Offensive Against Villages

*LD2511180393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Citing the Georgian Defense Ministry's press service, KONTAKT news agency reports that yesterday, 24 November, Abkhaz separatists and their north Caucasian henchmen began a large-scale offensive in the direction of Georgian villages in the Lata Gorge. After passing through Lata tunnels, the opposite side advanced to the village of Azhara. The population and small border units put up fierce resistance. There are casualties.

In the early hours of 25 November the militants reached the village of Chkhalta. A large number of houses were destroyed, and there are killed and wounded.

In connection with this barbarous action, the Georgian Defense Ministry's press service issued a statement strongly deploring the Gudauta separatists' aggression against the civilian Georgian population of Abkhazia. The statement indicates that this is not an accidental event on the eve of the Geneva meeting on the settlement of the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict.

The Georgian Armed Forces command has always called for a political settlement of the problem, but in the given case it is authorized to state that if Abkhazian separatists and north Caucasian mercenaries continue the aggression against the civilian population, the Georgian armed forces will have to stop the aggression and use force to protect the lives of our compatriots.

### Gamsakhurdia Supporters Given Ultimatum

*MK2411145093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 3*

[Tengiz Pachkoriya report in the "Georgia" column: "Unless the Remnants of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's Forces Disarm Themselves, Government Troops Will Disarm Them by Force. This Is the Sole Way to Peace in Megrelia, Givi Lominadze Thinks"]

[Text] For a month now Major General Givi Lominadze, former internal affairs minister of Abkhazia, has been state minister and chairman of the Interim Committee on the State of Emergency in Western Georgia. In a conversation with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent in Zugdidi Lominadze said that in Megrelia, in particular in the Zugdidi area, in spite of certain signs of stabilization, there is some internal tension. According to G. Lominadze, this tension will remain until the members of illegal armed formations under Zviad Gamsakhurdia have laid down their arms. According to him, part of the Zviadists are located in high mountain villages of Tsalendzhik Rayon of Megrelia and also in some settlements in Zugdidi. Lominadze also said that he has called on the combatants to lay down their weapons and follow the example of Soso Zhgenti (commander of a Gamsakhurdia unit), who appeared on TV with repentance and a call to stop fighting the government forces. Givi Lomindaze said that if the members of the Zviadist illegal armed formations do not surrender their weapons, the armed forces of the Georgian Republic will have to disarm them by force, using all the means at their disposal. According to Major General Lominadze, in all districts of Megrelia measures have been taken to restore the destroyed economic infrastructure. After Gamsakhurdia called on the Abkhaz separatists for assistance and the alliance between the Zviadists and Gudauta became obvious, Lominadze believes, the population of western Georgia revised its assessment of the situation. Lominadze noted that a substantial part of the population in Megrelia wishes peace and tranquillity and does not support the Zviadists. He came to this conclusion after visiting some areas, including the town of Senaki.